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THE STRUCTURE AND MESSAGE OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL

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BY

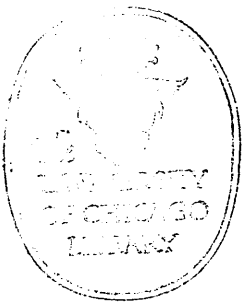
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TO

MY ADMIRABLE FRIEND

AND

COLLEAGUE

CHARLES EARLE RAVEN

PREFACE

THE Fourth Gospel is the most beautiful book in the world. And its beauty is from the Figure it enshrines. A new commentary upon it can justify itself on two grounds: that it is a reinvestigation of the whole of the problems which have been centred in the Gospel by the very large literature of its criticism; and that it attempts to disclose more of the Gospel's beauty. These two grounds as impulses have led to new findings and to the outlining of new ways back to belief in the historicity of the Gospel. And beauty can only come to its Figure as we rediscover His historicity. The first has shaped the work, and the second the hope, of this book. Therefore it ought not to be expected that a treatment of the Synoptics should also be found here. Their problems have been investigated side by side with those of the Fourth Gospel, but the results can only be presented adequately in another book. It is enough to attempt in this one the expression of its work and high hope.

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I

THE PROLOGUE AND ITS SOURCE

THREE ways of dealing with the Fourth Gospel are used by modern students: the first makes very much of the Prologue and asks questions why it is attached to the Gospel; the second almost ignores it, because its alleged philosophy is considered to be the informing mental atmosphere in which the incidents and speech of the Gospel move; and the third takes Prologue and Gospel that it might trace their union with cults, and speculations arising from them, within the area that is bounded by Persia and Syria and Egypt. The first method seeks a particular source for the words of the Prologue; the second is content with finding that the Gospel is the capital expression of the Hellenisation of early Christian thought; whilst the third is the outcome of the very recent alliance made between the linguistic exegesis of the New Testament and the filiative study of cults in the science of the History of Religions. We may take as representative of these three methods: for the first, some studies by Rendel Harris;[1] for the second, certain chapters in

[1] *The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel*, 1917; *Stoic Origins of the Fourth Gospel*, 1922; *Athena, Sophia and the Logos*, 1922. The two latter studies are reprinted from the *Bulletin of John Ryland's Library, Manchester*, 1921-1922.

Streeter's book, *The Four Gospels* (1924); and for the third, a general study by Bultmann,[1] together with the fresh matter in the second edition of Walter Bauer's *Das Johannes-Evangelium* (1925). It is instructive to note the immediate inspirations of this representative work. The first sprang from a shy note concerning a Sapiential source for the Prologue in Dean Alford's edition of the Greek New Testament, which fused with parallel research by Harris into the Sapiential sources of the earliest forms of Christology. Streeter is a spiritual son of von Hügel, whose raiment is procured from his own and contemporary study in the psychology of Mysticism. And the third mode owes its distinctive features to Lidzbarski's researches into the Mandaean religion. Within the period of the appearance of these three sorts of scholarly work which are directly related with the Prologue, one other study of a parallel kind has need to be mentioned—that is Windisch's *Die göttliche Weisheit der Juden und die paulinische Christologie*[2]—since it has brought out much that is valuable on the subject of the *Sophia* in the Sapiential books and the rise of Christology, not only for Paul, but also for the Gospel.

It will be appreciated that there is large general agreement among these several ways with Prologue and Gospel. For though Streeter does not give

[1] *Der religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund des Prologs zum Johannes-Evangelium* (ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ—*Hermann Gunkel*, ii. 1 ff.: *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, N.F. 19 Heft. 1923).

[2] *Neutestamentliche Studien, Georg Heinrici*, 1914, 220 ff.

weight to the questions of what and why the Prologue was composed, he harmonises with the other modes, in the second remove of union, because he treats the Gospel as the supreme expression of the Hellenisation of Christianity. This is what Harris's findings lead to, though they have a primary interest in the Prologue and its *Sophia* foundations; and, as well, this is the tendency of Bultmann's work, though it ramifies—beyond its Sapiential interest—into the novel interest whether Prologue, and eventually Gospel, are not due to Mandaean influence. We will follow him on that little worn path in our next chapter. A defence for such delay is to be found in his own work. For Mandaean documents as sources for either Prologue or Gospel are but mentioned in Bultmann's first study; whilst in his second study, which must stand or fall by the allowed or disallowed relations between the narratives concerning John the Baptist and the Mandaean book which bears his name, those documents have assumed a preponderating place. Our task then is to concentrate on the alleged connexions between the Prologue and the Sapiential writings.

The simplest approach to this matter will be by summarising the conclusions of the first of these contemporary ways with the Fourth Gospel. It issues in three conclusions and a half-suggestion. First, it shows that the words of the Prologue are to be traced primarily, with the exception of the term *Logos*, to the two following passages: *Wisdom of Sirach* xxiv. 8 ff. and *Proverbs* viii. 28 ff. What

of the language of the Prologue is not in those passages is to be found in closely contiguous sections of the three Sapiential books. Second, it concludes that this matter which concerned the *Sophia* was in the form of a hymn that celebrated her. This metrical document was taken by the author, or authors, of the Fourth Gospel and very slightly overworked. Where the name *Sophia* was in the original there the name *Logos* was put in its place. This was not a literary act: the work of one who, writing in the larger world of Asia Minor, brought the half-Graecised thought into full Greekhood by making a nominal substitution. It was a theological act: the work of one who brought a naive half-Semitic Christology unto the full stature of Hellenistic thought. The composer of the Prologue was conscious of the upward trend of Christological statement through *Memra* and *Sophia*; for he crowned the process with *Logos* values. Third, it finds that the original hymn was written in Aramaic. And that discovery solves the grammatical difficulties of the Greek version. The half-suggestion of this way with the Prologue is even more interesting than its conclusions. Harris inclines towards the suggestion that the *Sophia* hymn may have been inspired by the place given to the two Sapiential passages mentioned above in a most early document known as *Testimonia adversus Judaeos*. His subsequent work on the Stoic origins of the Prologue do not allow us to describe his view in more definite language than half-suggestion or most tentative

opinion. A part of the function of that document, as can be seen, for instance, in the text known to Cyprian, is to explain who and what Jesus Christ was in the terms of the *Sapientia*—which explanation was based on those passages from *Proverbs* and *Sirach* and *Wisdom*. The surplusage of the material to make the hymn, from neighbouring sections of those books, not being contained in the *Testimonia* texts examined by Harris, has lent some motion to the feeling that perhaps the ancient Christological document was but one of its inspirations. Both conclusions and half-suggestion have an enlivening quality which can be claimed for few studies in the realm of New Testament scholarship contributed in recent years.

Bultmann and Bauer go to work, in an accumulative, commentatorial manner, as if to invest the Prologue with what they consider to be its native atmosphere. They gather all the Sapiential material used in the first mode. They make very much of parallels or analogues from Philo—the writer who put an Ionic façade to the Synagogue. And they relate the Prologue with the other forms of Alexandrian teaching concerning the *Word*, which by way of Hermes goes back through Thoth to magical speculation in ancient Egyptian religion—an area of analogy that is favoured also by Loisy. Then round about this sort of atmospheric comment, as if a penumbra, the literary parallels pass from Hebrew things becoming Greek or Greek things becoming Graeco-Egyptian into the strange world of the

Mandaean religion. In Bultmann's first study and Bauer's *Handbuch* the aim is to plot out a background to the Prologue. Their tendency, on the whole, is to thrust back the roots of the material utilised in that document into Old Egyptian, Persian and Babylonian soil. Theirs is the same spirit of activity as that which moves Frazer to hang trophies on the boughs of the sacred tree at Nemi, from Cathay to Peru. This method is good for comparative study; it is not refined enough for exegetical purposes. The language of the Prologue is not multicoloured. But it can be stained with many colours. Bultmann's earlier work on the Fourth Gospel has more of the power to stain its text variously than to evoke the simplicities of the Prologue.[1] We must return then to a closer examination of the first of our methods of dealing with that document.

The discovery by this method that the *Logos* statement is based on a *Sophia* source has led to two lines of conclusion which, in their application, present certain inhibitive qualities. The belief that a hymn to *Sophia* underlies the Prologue, in the first place, raises the notion of a formal and literal transference of its material and ideas to a hymn in celebration of the *Logos*. And in the second place, that such a transference would carry with it a formal and sequential theological process which may be represented by the symbol: *Sophia* equals *Logos* equals

[1] Cf. *e.g.* Goguel, *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, 1924, ii. 253. In the light of the mass of critical literature on this Gospel I have put into my footnotes only the necessary references. My book is not meant to be a compilative work like the books of Sanday, Jackson and Bacon.

God. Thus an opening phrase in the Prologue sums up this latter difficulty, which gives such sharp outline to the first, where it says: 'The Word was God.' This method, in its search for the source of those words, has had to render that phrase as: 'The *Sophia* was God.' If there could be theological doubt whether it should be said of the *Logos* that he was God, there is much room for question whether it was ever said of the *Sophia* that she was God. Moreover, the Sapiential sources of the first condition of the Prologue's text do not assert that *Sophia* was thought of as being God. The inhibitive qualities of the above conclusions is seen in the users of the method under examination: they did not turn from such problems raised in theology and literature to seek if there was another architectural way with sources and ultimate text; but they went on to search for other means of establishing the curious theological equivalences of their theory. Their creative factor was found in the *Book of the Wisdom of Solomon*.

By disregard of Heinisch's [1] investigation of that book, for instance, *Wisdom* was made almost more Stoic than Chrysippus himself. And, as consequences, the *Sophia* under-script and the *Logos* over-script have been impressed more deeply with Stoicism than native Palestinian thought or that thought with Christian values. The foundations of this position are a Stoic pun, and the alleged Stoic

[1] *Die griechische Philosophie im Buche der Weisheit* (*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen*, i. iv.), 1908.

identification of *Sophia* and *Zeus* and of *Sophia* and *Logos*. The pun exhibits itself, for example, in several Chrysippean fragments. Thus he says:[1] 'They call him Δία through whom are all things, and *Zeus* because he is the cause of life (τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν) or because he informs life.' From such a passage Harris[2] would pass to the phrase in the Prologue: 'in Him was life (ζωή)'; and first by way of the punning name *Zeus* which Stoic fancy derived from the verb 'to live,' ζῆν. The second step was to link up the mentioned identifications. *Sophia* is said to be both *Zeus* and *Logos*. These equations again are based chiefly on Chrysippus. Now that thinker did say in a pedestrian passage: 'It is the *Logos* by which all things that have been made have been made, and all things that are being made are being made, and all things that are to be made will be made.'[3] Another name for this *Logos* is Fate, as, for instance, Chrysippus tells us in the passage now cited. And that *Logos*, which is Fate, is represented as the creative mind of *Zeus*.[4] To make these equations to be a series of *Sophia* identifications it is necessary so to find them as if frag-

[1] Is not this suggested source for John i. 4 as likely as finding another piece of verbal play by Chrysippus with *Dia* and *Dio* behind John i. 11, which contains the words ἴδια and ἴδιοι? For this Stoic saying see Von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, iii. 246.

[2] *Stoic Origins*, 10 ff.

[3] There seems as much reason to suppose that this passage was drawn on for the Prologue as to think that the Chrysippus dictum, 'The Aether is both father and son' (ii. *Frag.* 1078) supplied John xiv. with the concepts of Father and Son.

[4] *Sophia* as the creative agent has no place in her for Fate (cf. *Wisdom*, vii. 22 ff.), nor is it conceivable that in her passage into the Johannine *Logos* she first assumed and then divested herself of that Stoic concept.

ments of Chrysippus were in palimpsest state over the text of the seventh chapter of the *Book of Wisdom*. They are, however, not so found in Christian literature. Nor is there any valid reason for thinking that the Stoic pun and the two non-existent *Sophia* identifications could issue in the assertion : ' in Her (*Sophia*) was life,' as the creative under-text of the later phrase : ' in Him (*Logos*) was life.' This nimbler way with Stoic remains, than either the author of *Wisdom* or of the Prologue would have desired to attain, is but an accompaniment of a method's conclusions : it tessellates the sources according to a theory ; it has no sanction from historic growth. Where there is no necessity to accept notions of literary architecture there also is no demand to puzzle out curious theological results. The simple relations between *Sophia* and *Logos* can be indubitably traced, and these will show what were the connexions of the two orders of ideas. The earliest Christian mind must have put them together in a naive manner. Its beliefs were not subtle, nor were they subtly composed. Even the writer of the Fourth Gospel, whose mind has been made varyingly complex as it has been given this or that philosophical content and power, will be found to have the same attractive simplicity.

If the half-suggestion of this method with the Prologue had been followed up, opinions could have been reached which illuminated the problems of the growth of literary and Christological expression ; and as well it could have led to the maintenance before

us of the important consideration that the earliest Christian mind had to do with a revelation which was meant to be understood by uninstructed men and women. That half-suggestion, it will be recalled, looks in the direction of the question whether or no the Sapiential excerpts—which are the literal sources of the *Sophia-Logos* material in the Prologue—were taken from a primitive revelational mode with Sapiential material,[1] or directly from the text of the Sapiential writings. There must be a vast difference in our conclusions as we answer that question according to the former or latter style. Since if we affirm that the Sapiential sources were part of the teaching-mode of Christ's revelation we are going on to affirm that the values of their language and ideas will have become Christian ; or if we say that the writer of the Prologue has gone to the Sapiential books themselves, we may then have to confirm the intrusion of Stoicism into the Christian Gospel. The half-suggestion should have been allowed to grow along the line of the former style. For it must be claimed that there was a Christian usage of the Sapiential excerpts, lying behind even the earliest of the New Testament writings, which reunited them as to their connotations in such a manner that the essential nomenclature of Christ's teaching concerning Himself was novel and uniquely Christian. Pieces from the Sapiential books were not alone in this pre-documentary usage. Passages and sentences from some of the chief Hebrew

[1] Burch, *Jesus Christ and His Revelation*, 1927, 95 ff.

writings were as well used. Their very choice is evidence of a new mind at work in the realm of revelation. Pieces so strikingly disparate, and often so individual in their selection, and yet all informed with meanings which none of their authors could or would have foreseen, ought at least to woo us to the consideration of the problem whether, after all, the revelation of Jesus Christ did not imply an originality which has yet to be disclosed and explored.[1]

We have seen already that this half-suggestion consists in an allusive reference of the Sapiential sources of the *Sophia* hymn, which is said to be the original of the *Logos* Prologue, to a place in the most ancient manual unto Christology, known as *Testimonia adversus Judaeos*. One of the most valuable extant texts of this work is included among the writings of Cyprian. It ought to be described as a Cyprianic work ; for the African bishop has nothing to do with its composition, except, it may be, in adding certain New Testament *testimonia*, in retouching some of the headings to its sections, and in hiding the nature of its third book by throwing it into utter disorder.[2] How far the mode which created this document was at work in the first century will be demonstrated before the present investigation is brought to a close. Where it was taken up

[1] An instance of how complex the earliest Christian mind is made, where the *Sophia* and Christology are concerned, can be seen in Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God, or Primitive Christology*, 1911, 81 f.

[2] See on this last subject Burch, *St. Paul et le Christianisme fondamental*, 1924, c. 6.

with that fundamental nomenclature which Christ used, we can be sure that its matter and mode were known before the earliest writing in the New Testament was penned.

Every student of Patristics will know that what is made to be the second book of the Cyprianic *Testimonia* opens with a demonstration of the names for Jesus Christ—such as *Sapientia*, *Verbum*, *Deus*, *Manus Dei*, *Dominus*, *Brachium Dei* and *Christus*. This demonstration now follows the first book, in which the anti-Judaic nature of the revelation of Christ is exposed. The original document, and the oral usage which created it, had these two books together, so that the testimonary explanation of Christ Himself was integrally part of its anti-Judaism. A scribal or editorial division of the document into two books ought not to hide this fact from the modern student's eyes. The mind which chose the first cluster of passages and lent them that strange and lovely gold of His revelation chose also the first group of excerpts to explain Himself, and thus gave them a jewelled content that no Sapientialist could or would have designed. This content, too, had its anti-Judaic setting. An innumerous gathering of Old Testament and Apocrypha passages was made into the alphabet of Christology.[1] This small idiom, which was already known to simple men and women, carried into their minds the unique spiritual burthen of the knowledge who the Revealer was, and what

[1] See my book on the Revelation of Jesus Christ, and especially its third chapter.

was the chief principle of His Revelation. He became known not by theory but by some names which a child could learn; and the main bent of His revelation—that relentless surpassing of the old worlds of cults and ideas—was so easily grasped that He was crucified because of it when His public work was about three years old. Such an oral usage would, of course, have a cumulative quality. Its history is now being traced out. And for the first century it can be said that the earliest messengers of Christ caused that quality to make some additions to the usage, but always according to the original inspiration. These small extensions we shall find were made with the mind awake to the first significances of the Revealer and to the abrogative principle of His revelation. There is no ground in this mode's growth for the belief that its material was gathered or commented on when the mind was in the condition of trance, according to a prevalent but unhistorical explanation of the ways of the first century with the literary material it was turning to its own purposes. This fact raises a radical question: Was the nomenclature of Christology continually added to in that century? Do *Sophia* and certain other names represent the primary deposit, and *Logos* with others represent a secondary or tertiary deposit? For if that question has to be answered thus: 'Yes; the *Testimonia* document shows that the *Sophia* name had priority over the *Logos* name,' then it is very hard to escape the theological difficulties in the progression: *Sophia* who is *Logos* who is Christ who

is God, and probably impossible to deny the invasion of early Christianity by Stoicism. But did those names come into oral and documentary usage after one another ?

The method of dealing with the Prologue which is under criticism affirms that the *Testimonia* ' shows the *Sophia* had priority over the *Logos*.' [1] The bases of this position being : 1. That Paul never uses the term Word of God in the Johannine sense ; 2. That historically Jesus first impressed Himself on His disciples as ' an abnormal, supernatural Wisdom.' Therefore, we return once again to the opinion that beneath the *Logos* Prologue lies a *Sophia* hymn.

It is patent that in the Cyprianic text of the *Testimonia* the section which concerns the *Sophia* comes immediately before the section that attests the *Logos* name. We may not give to *Sophia*, as a consequence of her precedence there, a creative primacy in earliest Christology over the *Logos*. Nor is there a deeper exactness in making the *Sophia* to assume the primal place in the fashioning of Christ's revelation of Himself, because in one passage [2] in his Epistles

[1] Harris, *The Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1919, 30 ff.

[2] 1 Cor. i. 24. The *Dynamis* name for Christ does not appear to have held a primary place in later *testimonia* Christology. It was a bye-name to other more prominent names like the *Breath* and the *Mirror of God*. See *Wisdom* vii. 25 f. and Dionysius Rom. *Frag.* i. (Routh, iii. 391) ; Origen, *Frag. in Ep. ad Heb.* (*P.G.* iv. 697 B-D) ; *De Prin.* i. 2. 5, 2. 9-10 ; Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* iv. 3, v. 1 ; Ps.-Augustine, *Liber viginti unius Sententiarum*, xviii. (*P.L.* xl. 731), *De Incarnatione Verbi ad Januarium*, x. (*P.L.* xlii. 1179), xiii (1181). Elsewhere in the Greek Fathers the name is attendant upon *Logos* and *Sophia*, *e.g.* Dionysius Alex. *Frag.* (Routh, iii. 390) ; Origen, *Comm. in Joann.* i. 11 (*P.G.* xiv. 41A), i. 39 (89 C-D), i. 42 (104A) ; Hippolytus, *Frag. in Genesin* (*P.G.* x. 596B), *Frag. in Proverbia*

Paul plainly calls Jesus *Sophia* and *Dynamis*. That there is in the earliest strata of Christian thought some influence from ideas concerning the *Sophia* is

(625D); Eusebius, *De Laud. Constantini*, xii. (*P.G.* xx. 1389B), *Comm. in Psalmos* (*P.G.* xxiii. 1185C), *Dem. Evang.* iv. 5, iv. 10, v. 8, vii. 15, x. 1; Athanasius, *Orat. contra Arianos*, iii. 1 (*P.G.* xxvi. 324C); Ps.-Athanasius, *Exp. in Ps.* ciii. (*P.G.* xxvii. 440D); Didymus Alex. *De Trinitate*, iii. 3 (*P.G.* xxxix. 809B); Marcus Diadochus, *Sermo contra Arianos*, iv. (*P.G.* lxv. 1157A); Cyril Alex. *In Joann. Evang.* (*P.G.* lxxiii. 25D, 73B, 80B), *In Ep. i. ad Cor.* (*P.G.* lxxiv. 861D), *In Ep. i. ad Heb.* (*P.G.* lxxiv. 960B), *Thes. de Sancte et Constab. Tr nitate* (*P.G.* lxxv. 24B), vii. (85B), xi. (161C), xiii. (216A), xiv. (240B), *De S.S. Trinitate Dialogus*, vi. (1049C and 1052C); Isidore Pelus. *Epp.* ii. 143 (*P.G.* lxxviii. 585D); Codinus, *De Structura Templi Sanctae Sophiae* (*P.G.* clvii. 613A). On this last authority and the alleged reference to a church raised to *Dynamis* by Constantine the Great see Burch, *Myth and Constantine the Great*, 1927, 116. In the Latin Fathers, with some variation which will be noted, the vague 'Creator' sense for the name which arose through its connexions with the names *Breath* and *Mirror of God* is known. Ambrose, *De Fide*, i. 10 (*P.L.* xvi. 542D), ii. *Prol.* (560C), v. 2 (656B), v. 16 (689A); *Comm. in Ep. ad Cor.* i. 25 (*P.L.* xvii. 190 A-B); Rufinus, *De Fide*, xi. (*P.L.* xxi. 1120A); Phoebadius, *Liber contra Arianos*, xxi. (*P.L.* xx. 28D-29A). This writing has a variety of ascriptions—to Ambrose, Nourry, *ad Ambros.* (ed. Migne, ii. App. 346); to Gregory Naz., Tillemont, *Mem. eccl.* ix. 727. 624. On the Ambrosian authorship see Cassiodorus *De Inst. Div.* 16. Our illustrations from the Latin Fathers may proceed to Ps.-Augustine, *De Fide ad Patrum*, ii. 20 (*P.L.* xl. 759); Ps.-Augustine, *Speculum*, xvi. (*P.L.* xl. 973); Ps.-Augustine, *De Incarnatione ad Januarium*, x. (*P.L.* xlii. 1179, where the *testimonium Wisdom* vii. 25 is used), xiii. (1181, where again the *Test.* source is known); Maximus Taur. *Tractatus v. Contra Judaeos* (*P.L.* vii. 805A, where a *Test.* text is used); Augustine, *Enarr. Ps. cxxxiv.* 5 (*P.L.* xxxvii. 1742), *In Ps.* cxlvii. 22 (*op. cit.* 1931), *Liber de vera Religione*, 110 (xxiv. 170), *De Moribus Eccl. Cath. Lib.* i. 27; Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* xxxii. (*P.L.* lxi. 343A); Prudentius, *Kath.* xi., *Hymnus*, viii. (*P.L.* lix. 891); Salonius is a writer who knows *Testimonia* Christology, *In Parabolas Salomonis* (*P.L.* liii. 969D, 973C, 982C); Fulgentius, *Ep.* iii. 9 (*P.L.* lx. 327C), *Ep.* xiv. 16 (405 C-D), *Contra Sermonem Fastidione*, iv. (512), *De Incar. Filii Dei*, 49 (599D); Agnellus, *Ad Armen. Ep.* (*P.L.* lxviii. 382D); Primasius, *In Ep. ad Rom.* (*P.L.* lxviii. 418D, 475D); Cassidorus, *Exp. in Pss.* lxxiii. 9 (*P.L.* lxx. 642A); Gregory Mag. *Moralium Lib.* xxix. 1. 1 (*P.L.* lxxvi. 477B); *Altercatio Heraclani cum Germinio, episcopo Sirmensi* (Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, 1883, 136). These illustrations can be made more numerous. It is most interesting to follow the manners of these writers in their attempts to make the earliest Christological material at home in Latin thought. Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul from Unpublished Commentaries*, 164, calls *Dynamis* and *Sophia* 'synonyms for Λόγος.' He did not find the ancient source of the three names.

a fact which historians must investigate if ever we are going to understand the mind of Christ. And that it was co-operative with other naive influences, rather than at any time was it primitively and predominantly creative of that thought, is even a more important consideration, if we are to comprehend the mind that matters so much for men and women.

What is more significant than the occurrence of these two names for Christ in 1 Corinthians is that they are found in company with another name from the *Testimonia*. Paul knew that Jesus was the *Stone* as well as *Sophia* and *Dynamis* when writing that Epistle; and the context of this third name [1] shows that he is using it with a full regard to its anti-Judaic quality. We shall still miss the meaning of the passage, which encloses this name, if we consider that Paul's language of 'cloud' and 'sea' and 'spiritual meat' and 'Stone' convey the continuity of Christian and Jewish things; since thus we forget that Jesus Christ created those names for Himself, and informed tiny portions of the Hebrew writings with the undreamt splendour of His revelation. Again, we can find the same criticism of this supposed dominance of the *Sophia* and the same exhibition of other *Testimonia* names in the Epistles which, with the Corinthians, are now grouped as being the earliest writings of Paul.

In the Epistle to the Philippians is the great statement of Pauline Christology [2] on which has been built the mythology of the Kenotic theory, as Loofs

[1] 1 Cor. x. 4; cf. Acts iv. 11, 1 Pet. ii. 6, and Mt. xvi. 18.

[2] Phil. ii. 5 ff.

has wisely said. The recent discovery of Paul's source for this statement as being in the second chapter of the *Book of Wisdom*[1]—a most ancient *testimonium*—might appear as if the *Sophia* concept would have been at least its creative atmosphere. Whereas the only feature borrowed from that concept is an implicit and not an explicit one: the general design of a *Descensus*, or that as a dramatic motive, is in the Philippians passage, and certainly has relations with the *Sophia's* descent as it is represented in the three principal Sapiential sources. She, however, has undergone profound Christianisation by the method of the revelation of Christ. A reference to the Cyprianic text of the *Testimonia*,[2] for instance, shows how the second chapter was used, for it is ranged under the heading: *Quod ipse sit Justus quem Judaei occisuri essent.* That is to say, it is another name-source, and belongs to the anti-Judaic exposition of the nature of Christ and His work. Paul does not use the name *Justus*, which is familiar in some Epistles, in this Philippians statement; but he uses the other nominal wealth of the *testimonium*. Thence came the names *Doulos* and *Son of God*, together with the chief terms of description in the statement,[3] which for so long have been

[1] Burch, *St. Paul*, 37 ff.

[2] ii. 14. Hartel ought to read 'Justus' in this heading rather than 'Christus,' since that is the name for which the *testimonium Sap.* ii. 12 ff. is chiefly meant to stand. Alès, *La Theologie de Saint Cyprien*, 1922, 53, desires to insert 'Christus' in the heading, but that misses the point of *Testimonia* Christology.

[3] Burch, 41 ff. This *testimonium* has had its influence on the composition of the Crucifixion narratives. Concerning this matter we may notice that an ancient *Testimonia* text, the *Altercatio* of Evagrius (*P.L.* xx.

the causes of controversy and fanciful theological structures. The manner in which Paul handles the anti-Judaism of this material, so as to make it an evangel that almost sings its way into Jewish and Gentile minds, ought to be a means of reconciling contemporary sensibility to the discovery that Jesus Christ did bring 'a sword' to men, and that its thrust and edge brought Him to the death of the Cross. Our attention must be drawn back to the facts that where Paul might have shown how the *Sophia* concept ruled, as it has been affirmed, the earliest Christian mind; there he demonstrates rather the fellowship of His Sapiential names with others which have more forcefully ruled the Christian mind through all the centuries. We have found already an outline of the nomenclature of Christology in Paul which is in harmony with that in the earliest extant *Testimonia*; but we have not yet traced, in his oldest writings, that he had any knowledge of the name *Logos*. A fresh interrogation of his Epistles to the Thessalonians, which are put earlier in date than either Corinthians or Philippians, should help to change the opinion that Paul did not know that name in the same sense as the writer of the Prologue.

In the second of the Thessalonian Epistles [1] is the well-known section concerning the 'Anomos.' What

1177c), introduces *Wisdom* ii. thus: 'Hic est etiam Dei Virtus Christus, de quo Salomon in persona Judaeorum prophetavit dicens,' etc. The propinquity of the *Virtus* name of Jesus and the *testimonium*, together with the fact of its influence on the Crucifixion narratives, suggests that the *Gospel of the Hebrews* got its curious alternative, 'My Power, my Power,' from those related matters in the *Testimonia* usage.

[1] 2 Thes. ii. 3 ff.

has been made of this figure need not now concern us. For a new and natural factor of design is in the recovered principle of the revelation of Christ; that is, its anti-Judaism and anti-Gentilism. The 'Anomos,' then, is here the embodiment of Hebrew cults and ideas. He awaits his overthrow, as was predicted by Jesus Himself, at the coming of the Romans. That coming was linked with a greater coming and a profounder consequence than the invasion of one nation by another, both in the thought of Christ and the belief of the first century. This greater manifestation was in the dramatic overthrow of the Temple of Jerusalem—the heart of Judaistic thought and practice—'by the Spirit of His mouth.' We are again in the realm of the *Testimonia* usage. A glance, for instance, at the Cyprianic[1] text establishes this; for therein are the two following passages: 'Item in psalmo xxxiii: Verbo Domini caeli fecisti sunt et Spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum. Item apud Esaiam prophetam: Verbum consummans et brevians in iustitia: quoniam sermonem breviatum faciet Deus in toto orbe terrae.' There is point in the consideration that Paul should have embodied this fragment from the anti-Judaic usage of the revelation of Christ in his apocalyptic picture of antithetical Judaism; and little or no point in tracing the sentence, 'shall consume with the Spirit of His mouth,' to either Is. xi. 4 or Job iv. 9,[2] which can only form a sort of general literary analogy with the phrasing of the

[1] *Test.* ii. 3. [2] As, *e.g.* in Nestlé, ed. *Nov. Test. ad loc.*

apocalypse. It is suggested, then, that just as in the *Testimonia* document the names *Sapientia* and *Verbum* are placed next to one another, so also in the earliest Christian mind these names for Christ, *Sophia* and *Logos*, were always side by side. Paul knew this, and so also did the writer of the Prologue. The sequence in the Cyprianic text of the *Testimonia* cannot mean that because *Logos* follows *Sophia* therefore its Christological thought moves on from a Palestinian to a Hellenistic philosophical concept. Its A B C of Christology consisted of a series of familiar names for Jesus Christ. In precedent usage and subsequent document those names carried into simple minds at least two primary matters of Christ's revelation—that He was the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, and that he had set aside Judaism and Gentilism. The clustering of these names has no other motive than their propinquity in the *testimonia* chosen for the usage and document which spelt out who and what Christ was and did.

We may find a lively illustration of this naive motive for the collocating of Christological nomenclature in one of the chief *testimonia* for the name *Dynamis*. It is *Wisdom* vii. 25 ; and thence, because from the verse which contained that one, were taken two other names for Christ, *Atmis* and *Aporroia*.[1]

[1] Cf. *e.g.* Dionysius Rom. *Frag.* 1 (ed. Routh, iii. 391) ; Origen, *Frag. in Ep. ad Hebraeos*, *De Principiis*, i. 2. 5, i. 2. 9 f. ; Pseudo-Augustine, *Libri viginti unius Sententiarum*, xviii. (*P.L.* xl. 731), *De Incarnatione Verbi ad Januarium*, x. and xiii. (*P.L.* xlii. 1179 and 1181). Cf. with these Eusebius, *Demonst. Evang.* iv. 3 and v. 1 ; and Demetrius Cydonii, *De Processione Spiritus Sancti* (*P.G.* cliv. 893A), for the fading knowledge of the nomenclature in late Byzantium.

We have but to turn to another verse in *Wisdom* to find the names *Sophia* and *Logos* coming together as the dual creator—the first of men (τῇ σοφίᾳ σου) and the second of all things (ἐν λόγῳ σου).[1] The points concerning the reason for choice and the primal grouping of these names for Jesus Christ need not be further laboured. These matters have, however, singular importance for the writing of the prefatory chapters of the history of Christology. We can remark here only that if Sabellius and the Priscillianists in Spain of the fifth century[2] had known how to refrain from aberrant use of this most ancient Christological literature, which they had in their libraries and regard, they could have rendered sovereign help to Christian thought. So also might Marcion have done for the interpretation of Paul, if the potencies of his dualistic philosophy had not compounded themselves violently with the anti-Judaism of that literature. We can learn from them the way back to the actual values and teaching-mode of Christ's revelation. For the study of the Prologue this piece of investigation makes us to conclude that in the most primitive strata of Christianity these two names for Christ—*Sophia* and *Logos*—were members of a larger group for the instilling of His revelation into the minds of humble men and women.

The hypothesis of a *Sophia* hymn as a necessary

[1] *Wisdom* ix. 1.

[2] How this conclusion would alter the views of Zahn and Morin on the latter type of thought cf. Morin, *Un Traité Priscillianiste inédit sur la Trinité* (*Rev. Bénédictine*, 1909, 260 ff.).

under-text to the *Logos* Prologue has value only as it points out that certain pieces of Sapiential material, which had metrical form, went to make up that document. Burney [1] proved, what Harris had suggested, that the original language of the Prologue was Aramaic. But his translation of the Greek back into that language, though done with the mastery which the lamented scholar could easily command, reshapes the document so as to make it a too conscious and tidy work of art. Its varied Sapiential material—which indubitably suggests a source akin to a *Florilegium* in oral usage—and the fitting of the document in several unequal pieces with the matter of the Gospel, should have warned us to maintain its original nature. It is a small number of *testimonia* in literal mosaic. What touches of metre are in it come from the literary quality of its material. That material, in its original context, celebrates the *Sophia*. In the context of the *Testimonia* usage it is radically Christianised. That is to say, we are not allowed to intrude a period of speculation in Christology wherein Jesus Christ is conceived of in terms of the *Sophia*. That is unhistorical. Paul says that *Christ* is the *Sophia* of God, and *Christ* is the *Power* of God. He has no reference to a *Sophia-Christ*. Speculatives like Simon Magus [2] and Montanus [3] helped to create

[1] *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, 1922. It should be noticed that this scholar (page 46) thought it probable that the Prologue was drawn from a collection of Old Testament *testimonia*.

[2] Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, i. 23, and the story of Simon Magus, who played the part of Jesus Christ to Helen of Troy as Sophia.

[3] Epiphanius, *Contra Haereses*, xlix. 1.

such a Christ, and Arius[1] adopted Him as the instrument for his depersonalisation of the One who was unique as Revealer and in revelation. There was neither toilsome climb in theory, nor leap in speculation, from the *Sophia* to the Christ. When Sapiential excerpts were embodied in the *Testimonia* usage—and afterwards in the *Testimonia* document —they were caused to spell out His meanings. Their connotations all became new as they passed into the naive but recreative nomenclature of the first Christology. For the same reason the writer of the Fourth Gospel has no reference to a *Logos-Christ*. The language of his Prologue represents neither progress in statement from feminine or *Sophia* attributes to masculine or *Logos* appropriations of them, nor the liberation of the Christian message from an ethic big enough for Galilee to a Hellenism which could reach the whole world. *Logos* is a name with other primal names for Christ. Its *testimonia*, as we find them in the representative Cyprianic text of the most ancient way unto Christology, in no sense can support the argument that the term *Logos* is the representative mark of the invasion of Christian thought by Hellenistic philosophy. Those *testimonia* are verses from Ps. xliv., Ps. xxxiii., Ps. cvi., and another from Isaiah. The argument demands too much subtlety and pedantry on the part of Jesus, His first followers and His and their listeners, which could conclude from such testimonary material: that as the translators of the

[1] Cf. Athanasius, *Orats. contra Arianos*, i. 5, 9 ; ii. 37, etc.

Septuagint must have known Hellenistic philosophical terms, and used the cardinal term *Logos* in the translation of those passages, therefore, it is manifest that Hellenism entered primitive Christian thought by a wicket-gate in the shape of the *testimonia* usage. That gateway is too narrow for such an invader. Moreover, it never existed. To the reasons given already against its existence we may add a final demonstration.

Each of the names for Christ, as they are preserved in the exemplary text known to Cyprian,[1] can and ought to be substituted for the name *Logos* if we would comprehend the mind of the writer of the Prologue, and the fundamental Christianity whence he drew his matter. This interchangeable quality in its text may be illustrated thus :

'In the beginning was the { *Logos* / *Manus Dei* / *Dominus* / *Brachium Dei*[2] / *Christus* } and the { *Logos* / *Manus Dei* / *Dominus* / *Brachium Dei* / *Christus* }

[1] It should be said here that in our book, Harris and Burch, *Testimonies*, ii., an error was made when a version of the *Testimonia* in an Athos library, inscribed with the name Matthew, was identified with the writer of the First Gospel. An examination of the Bodleian MS. of the same writing convinced me that it was only a late Byzantine version of the *Testimonia*, and due most likely to Matthew Blastares. Cf. the opinion of Guignebert, *Revue d'Histoire des Religions*, 1920, 58 ff.; Goguel, i. 118. 1.

[2] For *Manus* and *Brachium Dei* see Hippolytus, *Frag. in Danielem*, iii. 92 (*P.G.* x. 680B) ; Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christianos*, 17 (Paris ed.) ; Eusebius, *Demonst. Evang.* vi. 24 (*P.G.* xxii. 481D), *Eclog. Proph.* iv. 27 (*op. cit.* 1241C) ; Ps.-Chrysostom, *In S. Joann. Praecurs.* (*P.G.* lxix. 804) ; Cyril Alex. *Hom.* xxvii. 1 (*P.G.* lxxvii. 929B) ; Damasus, *Carmen*, vi. (*P.L.* xiii. 378A) ; Ambrose, *In Ps. CXVIII Exp.* 22. 173 (*P.L.* xv. 1518C), *De Fide Orth. contra Arianos* (*P.L.* xvii. 560C) ; Ps.-Augustine,

was with God, and the { *Logos* / *Manus Dei* / *Dominus* / *Brachium Dei* / *Christus* } was God.'

These are a selection of the ancient names. There are others, which we shall make use of; but reflection on these illustrative ones is sufficient to depose, once for all, the claim that the writer of the Fourth Gospel drew for the world a Hellenised or *Logos-Christ*. That was the work of much later Greek thought.[1] We have followed it; and we have neutralised the values of Christ's revelation, its teaching-mode and their apprehension by the mind of the first century—a consideration which can be enlarged upon when we examine certain recent and representative interpretations of the Fourth Gospel.

The names which cluster to the composing of the Prologue are naturally divisible into two sorts: (*a*) creative; (*b*) attributive. But it must be understood that this most early Christian thought had not devised in part a dual Creator by its use of the first sort of name. So also must it be clear that its effort was not to give Marcion the inspiration for his tangential movement by proposing to substitute a

De Essentia Divinitatis (*P.L.* xlii. 1201); Eucherius, *Liber Form. Spiritalis Intelligentiae* (*P.L.* l. 731D, 732 A-B, 737D, 738B); Prosper, *Exp. a C ad CL Pss.* ciii. 27 ff. (*P.L.* li. 296A); Nicetas Aq. *De Diversis Appellationibus D.N. Jesu Christo conv.* (*P.L.* lii. 863C f.); Orientius, *Explanatio nominum Domini* (*P.L.* lxi. 1003C). The names for Jesus are put in the text above in Latin merely for convenience' sake.

[1] On the broad issues of the Hellenisation of Christian thought see Glawe, *Die Hellenisierung des Christentums*, 1912, 285 ff. especially.

Christian Creator for an Old Testament or Jewish Creator. Creative names for Jesus Christ spelt out for His first believers the idea of His pre-existence. Such an idea would, to the orthodox Jew, be anti-Judaic—whether it was hinted at through the *Sophia* concept, or made clearer and masculine through the *Logos* name, or spoken with all the lucidity of His revelation through the name *Son*. He meant men to learn the lesson ' before Abraham was, I am.' It was only the perverse brilliance of Marcion that could make a divine dualism out of His message—an evil physical god and a good spiritual god. The revelation and its teaching-mode are not responsible for the manners of an ardent mind made eccentric by the philosophy of Cerdon. Their implicit anti-Judaism, that is as concerns the explanation of Christ's pre-existence, was in reality a wooing evangelicalism, a new use of old ideas and language in the service of Truth. Other names for Christ, such as *Lord* and *Saviour*,[1] taken from their ancient cult contexts and put into that which gave them fresh Christian significances, could be said to be more explicitly anti-Judaic or anti-Gentilic, according to the standpoint of the listener. This order of names explains Him. Like those of the other order they were meant to win and not to antagonise men. But that they might do their work of evangelisation men had to learn, either as light informs

[1] Cf. Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 1920, i. 345 ff., have compiled, rather than a study of the origins of Christology, in their treatment of the names for Christ, a conspectus of quite recent speculation concerning them.

morning or as mental revolution brings peace, that the essential idiom of Hebraic and Gentilic religion had been given a transformed and transforming core of connotation which makes it to be the essential language of Christ's revelation. Paul is typical of how that could woo men, and what were its powers of mental and social revolution. The Prologue, then, is in reality one of the documentary helps for the recovery of the lost primary values of and the earliest method towards Christology. There is a number of such helps. Some of the pioneering work for their recognition has been and is being done. Much remains to be done if we are to find our way back to the simple manners of the revelation of Christ and its vital influence on the literary structure of the Gospels. That there is a demand for this work is to be seen in our present ways with the Fourth Gospel and the figure of Christ it purports to manifest to us.

It is an obvious criticism, on the variety of results which accrue from those efforts, that we should be driven to believe that the Fourth Gospel as a document shares with its chief figure one quality, which is an ineffable plasticity. Yet this would seem to be the serious claim of recent and outstanding work—as indeed it has been of the work of the Past. We will examine four of these later efforts to see how they remake the Gospel and its figure. They are: 1. Neo-Dionysianism as expressed in Grill;[1] 2. Neo-

[1] *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des Vierten Evangeliums*, 1923, ii. 280 ff.

Ephesianism in Loisy;[1] 3. Neo-Marcionism in Delafosse;[2] 4. Neo-Hellenism in Streeter.[3]

Grill makes the Gospel to be the record of the god *Logos-Dionysos*. Jesus Christ is the transmuted Lord of Life and Death: the embodied divine parable of Nature. By bringing together the Prologue and the narrative of the Passion, and by giving them peculiar values, the Tübingen theologian has been able to construct a person who is unknown to ancient mythology. Even the speculation of the Silver Age of Greek literature appears to have played but a small part in this creation. A Scholiast on Clement of Alexandria[4] and some influence from the Hermetic writings—these latter as seen through Reitzenstein's eyes—are the principal contributors from that time. Indeed, how truly is Grill's effort called Neo-Dionysianism is shown in the fact that it is Reitzenstein and Nietzsche and Merejkowsky who lend him the material for his treatment of the Gospel and its figure. The scholar's investigations into the myths of a Saviour-god can be so used as to volatilise the person of Jesus Christ; and if to this influence are added the epigrammatist's quasi-imaginative essay on the Dionysiac spirit and the novelist's wholly imaginative recreation of the times of Leonardo da Vinci, we may conclude that a sensitive mind, that is subject to such powers, will create an individual but unhistoric interpretation of the

[1] *Le Quatrième Évangile*, 1921, 66 ff., 87 ff.
[2] *Le Quatrième Évangile*, 1925, 40 ff.
[3] *The Four Gospels*, 1924, 366 ff.
[4] Scholium ad *Protrep.* 84. 11, ed. Stählin, 1905, i. 318.

Prologue and the figure in the Gospel which it opens. The Russian novelist,[1] whom Grill cites, sums up the theologian's view of documents and figure—as well as the measure of his influence on Grill's mind—when he speaks of the ritual wine of the Passion as being 'the pure and sacred wine made from the grapes of Nazareth: the most pure blood of Dionysos the Galilean.' We can be sure that no *Logos* concept was joined to such a Dionysos to produce either Prologue or text of the Fourth Gospel.

The Neo-Ephesianism of Loisy refashions document and figure in a different manner. With a number of contemporary writers the French scholar holds the opinion that the Gospel is an Ephesian product. Its *Logos*, he contends, is more Hellenic than the *Sophia* concept of the Sapiential books. Secondly, he is more Philonic than Philo—inasmuch as the Prologue sharpens the Jewish writer's expression of personality for the *Logos*, and corrects his notions of Matter by making definite an earthly incarnation of the *Logos*. Thirdly, this *Logos* is as Egyptian as the Magic Papyri;[2] if, indeed, he is not more Egyptian than late theory concerning Logos-Hermes-Thoth. Following the lead of Reitzenstein,[3] Loisy professes to see that complex divine person—with his connotations of creation and revelation by means of the voice, of the donation of immortality, of his magical mysticism in terms of

[1] Merejkowsky, *Le Roman de Leonard de Vinci* (trans. J. Sorrèze), 1901, 662 ff.

[2] Cf. Leemans, *Papyri Aegyptii Graeci*, ii. 116 ff.

[3] Especially in his *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (1910).

' light ' and ' truth '—in Prologue and Gospel. The view that the Fourth Gospel is an Ephesian document rests on a slenderer basis of possible fact than as yet has been recognised. Moreover, if that view were secure in fact, it is certain that the history of Ephesian religious thought presents no period when such a multiple synthesis of the *Logos* ruled its mind. Its creation belongs to Loisy : its accomplishment forms his Neo-Ephesianism. What Ephesus refuses in his theory no study of the language of the Fourth Gospel can save. For the essentials of the presence in it of *Logos-Thoth*—that is to say, creation by incantation either of gods or the cosmos, cannot anywhere be traced. And to make the terms of the Prologue, such as Light and Truth, conform to their usage in Egyptian theosophy would mean that they must be distorted so that their original sense is altogether forced out.

Delafosse makes Prologue and Gospel to be the fruits of controversial theology in the second century. The original text of the Gospel, he says, was composed by a Marcionite, and that which has come down to us is Marcion's text edited by an orthodox Catholic in the early years of the latter half of his century. The process of Delafosse with the text of the Gospel can be fully seen in his treatment of the Prologue. He finds two symbols in that document : the *Logos* and the Light. The first of these partially dominates the Prologue and is found no more in the Gospel ; whilst the second discloses itself in both Prologue and Gospel. The Light, as

it were, is still able to break through the overshadowing *Logos* in the opening of the Gospel ; and in the course of its text traces of the original place of the Light still manifest themselves. Thus in iii. 19, where men are said to love darkness rather than the Light ; or in viii. 12, ix. 5, xi. 9, and xii. 35 ff. For Delafosse the *Logos* and the Light represent two different strains of Johannine text and two opposing conceptions of Christ. The *Logos* stands for the Catholic reading of the original Gospel, and also for the Catholic conception of Christ. The Light unborn, intangible and suprahuman—since Delafosse declares that He must have been like the Light when ' no man could put his hand on Him,' and His body to have been other than human when He could refuse bread with the words, ' I have other bread to eat '—is the original Marcionite Christ. Because this exegete turns to the Prologue with such textual and Christological views he truncates that document and causes it to begin thus : ' Dieu est la Vie et la Vie est la Lumière des hommes. Et la Lumière luit dans les ténèbres ne l'ont point reçue,' etc. The *Logos* references, then, have been introduced by a hand other than Marcion's with the intention of overthrowing his spiritual Christ by the Catholic and substantial Christ. The former is seen only with the eyes of faith ; the latter is to be touched with men's hands, according to the dogmas of popular Catholic religion. Such a view of Prologue and Gospel is Neo-Marcionite. We have no evidence that Marcion re-edited the Fourth Gospel

as he did Luke.[1] Delafosse's interpretation of the Light, either as a factor in the Gospel or a datum in Christology,[2] is totally inadmissible. He has not reconstructed for us what was done with the Prologue in the second century, since he seems to have gone no further back in time than Loman's study on the Gospel.[3] The Dutch scholar imagined that it was written to hold Marcion within the Church by so representing Christ as to overthrow the contemporary Jewish reaction against His religion. The French scholar appears to have made variations on this theme: he, as we have seen, declares a Marcionite to have been the author of Prologue and Gospel, and that its present text represents a Catholic reaction, which is to say in another way a Jewish reaction.

The fourth and last of these modes with our documents is to be seen in Streeter with his Neo-Hellenism. It is surprising to find that, when he treats of the Fourth Gospel, this writer develops a nonchalant naivete of generalisation, concerning the document and regarding the exhibition of alleged but anachronous sources. The first of these points will be illustrated by the following citations: 'To ignore or minimise the Hellenic element in the *Logos* doctrine of John is to miss the point of the whole Gospel'; again, 'The author stands between two worlds, the Hebrew and the Greek, at the confluence of the two greatest spiritual and intellectual traditions

[1] Cf. Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott*, 1924, 249* ff.

[2] It is unproven that even the *Acta Johannis* is a Marcionite work.

[3] *Het vierde Evangelie, Kenbron van Jezus' Leer en Leven*, 25 ff.

of our race; in him Plato and Isaiah meet'; or, again, 'The interpretative fusion of Greek philosophic mysticism with the conception of a Personal God reached by the Hebrew prophets, modified by the religious experience of the Early Church, attained its classical expression in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel.' Streeter knows much and profoundly that we cannot ascribe those generalisations to his agreement with certain views on the Gospel and to an attempt on his part to give them plain summary. They spring from his acquired opinions, as the following citation shows. Therein he characterises what to him is the essential genius of the writer of the Gospel, and thence throws out the bridge to meet his views on the writer's philosophy. 'The starting point,' he says, 'for any profitable study of the Fourth Gospel is the recognition of the author as a mystic—perhaps the greatest of all mystics. To him the temporal is the veil of the eternal, and he is ever, to use von Hügel's phrase, "striving to contemplate history *sub specie aeternitatis* and to englobe the successiveness of man in the simultaneity of God."' A sympathetic and critical view of Streeter's treatment of the Gospel suggests that it could not have been written without the capital inspiration of von Hügel's well-known article on the same subject.[1] He is von Hügel in less difficult English. The latter's idea of the universe is not older than Hegel, and the place of Hellenistic thought in it was made for him by Tröltsch.

[1] *Ency. Brit. s.v.*

Streeter may claim that his interest in that thought is due to the fact that Origen and Clement of Alexandria made it the creative nucleus and framework of their system of thought. But such a claim could not dispose of the strong impression of the contemporaneity of his whole treatment, its postulates and superstructure, with that of von Hügel. Moreover, his handling of the questions of mysticism and its psychology bears also these notes of near time. These things have occupied his attention more closely even than most of the thinkers who have inclinations towards Symbolism in theology. The author of *The Mystical Element in Religion* and the authoress of *The Mystic Way* have been his *fravashi*, his nurturing spirits ; and his own work on European and Far Eastern mysticism,[1] with theirs, has bodied itself out, in the Near East, in a mystic called Jesus Christ, with his mystico-philosophical interpretation of the Cosmos whose date should be our own and not the first century. This Hellenism is very new. It cannot illuminate the conditions of thought which composed the Fourth Gospel. Neither can any interpretation reach the secrets of its literary structure, its creative and religious aims, which invades Prologue and Gospel with anachronous philosophical or textual motives.

The need is plain for the realisation of a simple

[1] Cf. especially Streeter, *Hibbert Journal*, 1925, 341 ff., and Streeter and Appasamy, *The Sadhu* (1921). Appasamy has recently published another book with the title, *Christianity as Bhakti Marga, a Study in the Mysticism of the Johannine Writings*. Whilst its qualities must be acknowledged, the book serves to illustrate how to mysticise John rather than how to interpret him.

truth like this : that the Fourth Gospel is the most susceptible, among the documents of the New Testament, to invasion from foreign ideas. But that simple truth is related to a bigger one : that thus Jesus Christ becomes subjected to and remade by ideas foreign to Himself. There are few commentators who, with knowledge and probity of mind, would deliberately set themselves to subjugate unto any recreative influence either the document or its one Figure. But we do not yet seem to have the power to realise that, though the language in which His teaching and He are expressed is one with that spoken by ordinary folk in the market and at home, He is The Invader and ought not to be the invaded. It makes a world of difference, then, if we seek for the meaning of the term *Logos* in the vocabulary to Herakleitos, or in the list of names Jesus used for Himself that the ordinary folk might understand His revelation. By the former means He can be so invaded as to become a piece of Philo's dialectic ; whilst by the latter means he invades the mind of the first century and ours as the Jesus Christ who came into the world with His own message.

II

JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE RAISON D'ÊTRE OF HIS NARRATIVE IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

BULTMANN'S second study[1] on the Fourth Gospel offers a most fresh and inquisitive standpoint from which to approach the problems that either do arise or are said to arise from the passages in it concerning John the Baptist. The Marburg professor approaches the narratives from such a novel standpoint as to make not only them, but also Prologue and Gospel, a vast problem in derivation. This has been acutely seen by the editor of *The Quest*, who, in this matter, has done an admirable piece of pioneering work.[2] 'We have to reckon,' he writes, 'with the probability that Johannine Christianity, that is to say the Fourth Gospel, represents an older type than that of the Synoptics.' That is not a suggestion which is made because it is startling, but

[1] *Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen quellen für das Verständnis des Johannes-evangelium* (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1925, Heft 1-2, 100 ff.).

[2] Mead, *The Gnostic John the Baptizer* (1924); *A New Background for the Fourth Gospel*, and *Mandaean and Other Saviour-Lore Parallels to the Fourth Gospel*—these are in *The Quest*, October, 1925, January and April 1926, respectively. The two latter contributions being an English translation of Bultmann's study.

because it completes Bultmann's conclusions. They are these: 1. That the *Sophia* background of the *Logos* Prologue is Iranian and not Jewish; 2. That this Iranian undertext has its origin in a document, deeply tinctured with early Iranism, belonging to a sect whose head was John the Baptist; 3. That the Jesus of the matter interwoven with and directly successive to the Prologue has been given much, in attribution and praise, of what first belonged to John; 4. That if these deductions are true, then Iranian Gnosticism has exercised a profoundly formative influence over the whole ground of early Christian thought.

Bultmann gives precision to these influences from ancient Iran by finding either the source of the Baptist material in the Fourth Gospel, or contemporary analogies with that material, in the Mandaean literature. Let it be supposed that the latter is the more likely conclusion: it will follow, according to this investigator, that both opening chapters in the Gospel and the Mandaean books are drawing on an earlier Saviour-myth which had become identified with John the Baptist. We are thus brought face to face with a series of questions which can at least open up new conclusions for the Gospel—and particularly perhaps concerning its data—whilst also it can lead to parallel results concerning the rise of some of the Mandaean literature. It is good that we should have to meet these questions which represent a new style of commenting upon the Gospels. The conventions of our study of the New

Testament, on the linguistic side, have broken down in the presence of discovered papyri in popular Greek; and at least some of our inventions, with regard to the sources or filiations of certain features in the Gospels, will have to yield before the most careful findings of the historical and comparative methods with Religion. Therefore, attention is not to be dissipated from the highway to a remote by-path in New Testament exegesis; but to be concentrated on another manner of opening up that highway. There is a John the Baptist book in Mandaean,[1] and there are the Baptist narratives in the Gospel. These two facts should also help towards the impression that we shall be working at home and not in territory foreign to the New Testament.

How good it is that we should be forced to reconsider the place of John the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel is to be realised from critical findings, a little while before the appearance of the Marburg theologian's results, concerning him and his significance. No fault can be found with the exercise of critical scholarship on the writings of the New Testament, but very much fault is to be found with our inappreciation of the gulf which is between those findings and formulated Christian thought. Let us take as a most accomplished presentation of such findings, the work of Loisy. His chief conclusions are as follows: 1. There is a marked difference

[1] For this work I quote my own translation from the original; for the *Ginza* books I shall use Mead's translation of Bultmann, since they are not yet published, and the latter scholar was given Lidzbarski's version of them to use. Lidzbarski is, of course, editing the *Ginza*.

between the argument of the Prologue and the Baptist narrative—the difference between a theological statement and a quasi-historical narrative interpolated to affirm its theology. 2. The imagined witness of John is an apologetical argument against the Jews. 3. The supposition that John was the leader of a sect who proclaimed him as a 'Christ' is not confirmed by the Fourth Gospel. 4. The Synoptic narrative of the Baptist has been interpolated in the interests of a legend of a hidden or unknown Messiah[1]—as the words show: 'One stands in the midst of you, whom ye know not.' 5. The material references of the Synoptics are transmuted by the writer of the Fourth Gospel into spiritual values to laud the Logos-Christ. The two principal lines of these conclusions are: John is a name for a literary creation which is meant to serve a Christological creation with the name Jesus; and that the matter of the Synoptic Gospels has been made from quasi-history into *Logos* mysticism by the writer of the Fourth Gospel. That summary, with small alterations, will fit Bultmann's results. It is true, as we have seen, that he has struck a wider circle than Loisy in his search for a non-Christian source to the Prologue and contingent matter. But, if his conclusions can be maintained, he causes the Evangelist to create a Christ from Mandaean literature and from an historic figure in that religion whose name was John the Baptist.

[1] Cf. Justin, *Trypho*, 8. 3, 49. 1, 110. 1. Justin is rallied by his Jewish disputant concerning a 'Christos' who was to be anointed by Elias, and who had not come.

It may seem curious, when readers turn to Bultmann's second study, that no attention is given to the possibility of the rise of the Mandaean *Johannes-Buch* from the Fourth Gospel, or any attempt made to exhibit parallels to prove this not unlikely view of origins. Thus he has only one actual parallel for the first chapter of the Gospel in Mandaean literature. We should remember that the Marburg theologian intends to invoke the 'background' of the Gospel: he does not attempt an exhaustive search for parallels. His parallels do, however, try to meet all the important matters in the Gospel. We propose to choose the more significant of them for analysis, and after to present critically the most vital points in the literary structure of the *Johannes-Buch*.

A minor criticism should be offered first upon the headings under which Bultmann's parallels are put. Their wording, for the most part, is in quasi-Johannine language. Such language does not naturally come from the Mandaean sources. And it may have a predisposing influence, of a kind too swift to permit of an examination of Gospel and ritual literature, on many students in these days who are shod with fourteen-league boots of their own making from the nimble material of the Comparative Study of Religions. The ends of his work would have been served if he had given merely chapter and verse from the Gospel, and under them had arranged the Mandaean parallels. For example, the first of the headings reads: *The Revealer is the*

eternal Divine Being who was in the Beginning. The Gospel reference under it is Jn. xvii. 5. This example illustrates what is meant by the quasi-Johannine nature of the headings. It is clear that such a collocation of terms is fashioned from a view of the Fourth Gospel and not primarily from Mandaean sources. Bultmann's second heading will take us a step further in our analysis: *He is sent into the World by the Father*. Once more both Prologue and Jno. xvii. are fashioning his words. Further, the Mandaean parallels grouped under this heading are instructive, for they are chiefly from the *Johannes-Buch*. The Father is sending forth His Son, who here is the *alter ego* of John the Baptist:[1] 'Come, my son, be for me an ambassador; come, be for me a herald and tread under foot the rebellious world.' A little before this statement, in Section 63, occurred the words: 'A voice calls to us out of the height, "Life chose *Mānā* (? Logos) and sent him to us."' With these Bultmann cites the Mandaean Liturgies:[2]

> 'In the beginning I came forth in a cloud
> out of thee, O shining Home!
> In the beginning I came forth in a cloud
> out of the building which Life built.' . . .

Even from these parallels, it must be suggested, there comes more than the suspicion that they are derived from Christian sources rather than that such a document as the Fourth Gospel is derived from

[1] Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, 1915, 222 f.
[2] Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, 1920, 190.

them. The two tiny pieces from the *Johannes-Buch* surely are but borrowings from the Gospel. This view will be made certain if the rendering of *Mānā* as *Logos* is upheld. Within the compass of a few lines the Mandaean writer shows knowledge of the first chapter of the Gospel, since he telescopes in them the idea of the sending of the Son and the Voice heard from on high [1]—the kernel of the Prologue and the Voice heard by the Baptist—which matters are thirty-three verses apart in the Gospel. The liturgical parallel is perhaps more interesting still. It represents in its four lines a union of the opening words of the Prologue, followed immediately by the great part of the opening verse of the *testimonium* from *Sirach* xxiv. 3 : 'I came forth . . . and covered the earth as a cloud'; whilst its lines three and four are based on another famous *testimonium*, *Wisdom* ix. 1,[2] and in which 'Life' has supplanted 'Sophia' as the builder. This again is a consequence of the combining of the language of the Prologue and the *Wisdom of Solomon*. The interest of this conclusion lies, of course, in the disclosure that the Mandaean writer appears to have had for his sources the Gospel and an ancient source utilised by the writer of the Gospel's Prologue.

The selection of other headings from Bultmann's work will help to turn our suggestions into assurances. The sixth heading is : *He possesses Life and bestows Life*. Its Johannine quality is apparent.

[1] Cf. Mt. iii. 17 ; Mk. i. 11 ; Lk. iii. 22.

[2] Cf. *e.g.* Cyprianic *Testimonia*, ii. 1 and 2.

Under it the chief parallel is from the *Right Ginza* (i. 29), which says: 'The heavenly Enoch [1] comes into the world with the power of the high King of Light. He heals the sick, makes the blind see, cleanses the leper, makes straight the crippled so that they can walk, makes the dumb speak and gives life to the dead. He wins believers from among the Jews and enlightens them: there is death and there is life, there is darkness and there is light, there is error and there is truth.' Now the greater part of this citation is based upon the *testimonium* used in Luke iv. 17 ff.—indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to say that it is an almost literal rendering of the composite Old Testament excerpt which Luke alone uses. The contrasted terms which follow in the Mandaean are almost as certainly from the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel. Other evidence is forthcoming for the confirmation of this latter point. Bultmann's third heading is: *He is come into the World*, and his seventh: *He leads out of Darkness into Light*. Under the first of these heads is a parallel from the *Right Ginza* (iii. 89) which might well cause anyone to range it beneath a heading couched in Johannine language. For it reads:

> 'A beloved Son comes,
> who was formed from the bosom of glory.
> He comes with the enlightenment of Life
> with the command which His Father gave.
> He comes in the nature of living fire
> And repairs to his world.'

[1] *Enoš-Uthra* in the original. The second member of this dual name is difficult to understand. It appears to mean what has participation in the divine or unearthly. The name is another for the Baptist-Christ.

Analysis of this passage yields the result that it is a piece of mosaic-work on the part of one who knew at least not only John i. but also the Baptist narratives of Matthew and Luke. There can be little doubt that John i. 18: 'the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father,' together with John i. 14: 'the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father,' created the opening lines of the Mandaean statement. That Christ came to reveal Life is one of the big ideas of the Gospel's first chapter, and that is the motive of lines three and four. The designation 'beloved Son' instead of 'only-begotten Son' need not send us to the Transfiguration narratives, though it is not unlikely that the writer knew them. We are in reality dealing with an ancient Johannine reading which expressed the equivalence of the terms 'only-born' and 'beloved.' The completest parallel in early Christian literature will serve to lead out this fact. In the *Apostolic Constitutions*[1] is this collocation: Χριστὸς ὁ μονογενὴς θεός, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υἱός, ὁ τῆς δόξης κύριος. That says in the preciser language of the Gospel what the *Ginza* says in looser poetic phrases. Hort[2] long ago saw the originality to the Gospel text of the epithet 'only-born,' but in connexion with the word θεός. This opinion supposes that the word 'God' has been displaced by the word 'Son.' That most

[1] iii. 17. 4.

[2] *Two Dissertations*, 1876, 43 ff. especially. The argument of the great scholar has been renovated altogether by the discovery of the place of *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* in the N.T. writings and the revelation of Jesus Christ.

excellent Semitic scholar, the late Dr. F. C. Burney,[1] held the same view ; but went on to suggest that the Aramaic undertext of the Gospel had read ' the only-begotten of God.' This neat linguistic answer to the problem was companioned in the same year by another as to whence the Evangelist derived the phrase ' the only-begotten God.' This essay for its origin [2] called in the *Orphic Hymn to Persephone*, where the goddess is described as Μουνογενεῖα θεά. The appearance of that phrase in the Gospel is supposed to have followed an intricate mode of genesis—it began as a factor in Orphism ; it made cause with the *Wisdom of Solomon* through the identification of Athena and *Sophia* ; and it issued in the Gospel after it was changed from feminine into masculine dress. This cult answer to the problem of origins is not neat. It is also too arbitrarily subtle to account for the historic rise of the phrase in the Prologue.

Does not the text of the *Apostolic Constitutions* [3] suggest that its compiler knew a Caesarean text of the Gospel in which the phrases ' the only-begotten God, the beloved Son ' followed one another ? Such a text seems to have been in the hands of the Mandaean writer who crushed the two into one.

[1] *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, 1922, 39 f.

[2] Harris, *Athena*, 69 f.

[3] viii. 12. 31, ὁ θεὸς λόγος, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υἱός, ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως should not be used as an illustration of how the author compiles epithets for Christ, and, therefore, iii. 17. 4 was made in the same way ; viii. 12. 31 rather bears other witness to the writer's use of the Prologue in harmony with its most ancient values. See ii. 24. 3 for the analogue to the latter statement.

There is a fairly considerable lot of evidence for the equation of the two terms 'only-begotten' and 'beloved.'[1] The received texts of the Greek New Testament seem to bear witness to an advantage taken of this fact—the retained phrase 'beloved Son' serving as a textual expedient to rid the Gospel of the difficult Christology in the phrase 'only-begotten God.'[2] The ancient Church-book has preserved the two phrases side by side. The Mandaean *Ginza* appears to uphold the opinion that such a succession in the text of the Gospel's first chapter had been known.[3] Such an important but exquisite

[1] Lebreton, *Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité*, 1919, 308. 3 ; Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1926, 113 ff.

[2] Goguel, *Le Texte et les Éditions du Nouveau Testament Grec*, 1920, 66 : '*μονογενὴς υἱός* sinon une correction, du moins une précision dogmatique.'

[3] Loisy, 112 : 'Notre verset a chance d'être une addition rédactionnelle.' That is a comment which has failed to grasp the simple manner of the Prologue's ideas and rise. It should be noticed that such a passage as Gen. xxii. 2, which occurs in the Cyprianic *Testimonia*, iii. 15 thus, 'accipe filium tuum illum unicum quem dilexisti illum Isac,' is not a *testimonium* which was likely to have influenced the original text of the Gospel towards the framing of the companioning phrases. That portion of the Cyprianic *Testimonia* which represents the small creative nucleus in the spelling out of the meanings of Christ (see especially *Test.* ii. 5) simply reads, 'filio tuo dilectissimo' in Gen. xxii. 12. Also *Test.* iii. was originally quite unlike *Test.* i. and ii. (see Burch, *St. Paul*, c. 6). It was the concurrence of the names for Christ with their naturally dependent use of *testimonia* which created them. The same judgment should be passed on an alternative phrase to 'only-begotten God,' lest some should imagine that it was that phrase in its primary condition. For example, Eusebius *Dem. Evang.* v. 19, *καὶ τῆς πρωτοτόκου Σοφίας*, or, in vi. *Proem.* *ἣν Σοφίαν θεοῦ πρωτότοκον, μονογενῆ τε υἱὸν καὶ θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ*; or a little before in the same writing where Eusebius allows the designations to flow between *Sophia and Logos*: *ὧν πάντων πρωτότοκος Σοφία καὶ μονογενὴς καὶ πρωτόγονος τοῦ θεοῦ προυπέστη Λόγος* (v. 1), or where those two names add others in v. 3 : *τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως θεοῦ Λόγον*. Cf. also Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* iv. 2, v. 1 ; *Comm. in Psalmos*, *P.G.* xxiii. 792A-B, 1036B ; Athanasius, *Apologia ad Const.* 17 (*P.G.* xxv. 616C) ; *Orats. contra Arianos*, ii. 47 (*P.G.* xxvi. 245D) : *τὴν γὰρ οὐσίαν ἑαυτοῦ γινώσκων ὁ κύριος μονογενῆ σοφίαν καὶ γέννημα τοῦ Πατρός*, and quotes Prov. viii. 22 with Jno. i. 14. There can be no doubt that

conclusion points out most clearly that the Fourth Gospel was one of the sources of the Mandaean literature. Moreover, both phrases find their source and warrant in the most ancient source unto Christology in which such a name for Christ as *Deus* was taught. They are all factors in the revelation of Jesus Christ. Further, the closing lines of the citation from the *Ginza* enable us to draw another conclusion concerning Mandaean sources—where the writer speaks of Christ vested with fire, he is drawing upon his knowledge of the Baptist narratives in Mt. iii. 10 ff. and Lk. iii. 16 ff., with their references to the fire which Christ brings. To transpose these conclusions so that the Mandaean books become the sources of the Fourth Gospel—and for most that is in the Synoptic Gospels—would be to reduce literary criticism to the level of certain essays, included in Migne's *Patrologia*, on pseudo-Dionysius. It would have been a too wonderful feat even for the writer of the Fourth Gospel—who has been credited with a number of remarkable feats

these writers are using *Testimonia* names for Christ in the context of a few prominent *testimonia* just as was the writer of the Fourth Gospel. How that simple usage could be endued with heavier values from Greek theology is to be seen, for instance, in Gregory Naz. *Orat.* xxx. 20 (*P.G.* xxxvi. 128D-129A) or Cyril Alex. *De SS. Trinitate Dialogus*, vi. (*P.G.* lxxiv. 1052C). This same theologising process may be seen in certain of the Latin Fathers such as Augustine, *De Trinitate*, xiv. 1 ; pseudo-Augustine, *De Fide ad Petrum*, ii. 20 (*P.L.* xl. 759), *Sermo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, x. (*P.L.* xlii. 1179), xiii (1181), xiv. (1183) ; Rufinus, *De Fide*, xi. (*P.L.* xxi. 1120A) ; Salonius, *In Parabolas Salomonis*, v. (*P.L.* liii. 974B) ; Gregory Mag. *Moralium Lib.* xxxiii. (*P.L.* lxxvi. 693B), Taio, *Sententiarum* Lib. i. xxxvi. (*P.L.* lxxx. 768D). It may be noted, for example, that Gregory Magnus is still using as a preface to his *Testimonia* Christology, that is becoming under his hand more and more Latinised, the well-known *testimonium* Prov. ix. 1 ff.

in the world of theological ideas—to have educed the simplicity of his first chapter from the rich vagrancies of the half-poetry of the Mandaean literature. These matters can be illustrated finally from a study of the broad lines of the literary structure of the *Johannes-Buch*.

The first of these features to which attention must be drawn is the book's inverted anti-Judaism. From being one of the principles of the revelation of Christ, it becomes an offensive weapon for the Mandaean Baptist-cult against the religion of Jesus. There are striking passages, for instance, in which Mirjai (that is Mary) is the victim of contumely—she is a figure largely mythical and partly historical. These passages are striking because they turn the figure in the Gospels, who is absorbed in the tiny ambit of domestic affairs, into one who is a fervent disciple of the Lord with a firm intellectual grasp of His revelation. The Gospels clearly show that Mary did not come out from her native Judaism.[1] She is not represented as having understood Jesus Christ. The Mandaeans make her father rail upon her, with coarse invective, that she has declined from Judaism.[2] The Mandaean writer is strongly aware that a cardinal principle of the revelation of Jesus Christ was its anti-Judaism. Mary, in one of her retorts to her father, is shown to have seized that principle, together with its power to excise the believer from out the social life of Jewry, when she says: 'If I am a patch in thy robe, then cut and

[1] See *infra*, p. 191. [2] Lidzbarski, 72, 123 ff.

tear me out of it.' That is but the reverse of Christ's saying concerning patched wine-skins, and its excisive point concerning those who follow Him. The change in metaphor does not affect the hold on the revelation and abrogatory principle of Him who 'came to bring a sword.' Or, again, Mary is found saying: 'Blessed is the Man who freed me from my fathers and placed my feet here.' Her frank anti-Judaism is not now the point for remark. The use of the title *Man* for Jesus Christ is of much greater significance. This was certainly one of the names for Him which served to acquaint men and women with His primary values in the *primer* manner of the earliest Christology. This name has not yet been recognised as having such values.[1] We have been swift to put into it a simple human significance either in the interest of a bifurcate theory concerning the Lord—the Jesus of Nazareth being a man, and the Christ in heaven being a divine object of worship—or because of our undilute humanitarian opinions concerning Him. Whereas

[1] Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 1920, i. 368 ff., where the only correct capital conclusion reached by the authors seems to be that in which they conclude that Son of Man=Man in Aramaic and Hebrew, and should do so in Greek. Cf. also Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God*, 1911, 35 ff., where the title is strained to mean something that is to be related with 'the exalted and visionary expectations of a church on fire with momentary expectations of the end.' The two illustrations are chosen because they profess to be expounding primitive Christology. Bultmann under heading 21, *He is the Son of Man*, ventures to ascribe the Synoptic usage of the title to Jewish apocalyptic, and the usage of the Fourth Gospel to the pre-Christian Man-myth (who is in the world and will ascend from it at its destruction) which is a Mandaean source. Once more these students have overlooked the possibility of a source that by nature, usage and context should create a wholly Christian nomenclature. That source demurs also to the name of theological Messianism which has been so freely read into it.

this name was meant to teach—what, indeed, it did teach in the far-off days—the historical reality of the Christ who bore many other names. We can see this, if we will, in the specimens of earliest Christian preaching preserved in the Acts of the Apostles. On the day of Pentecost Peter calls Him Ἄνδρα—the name as it should be without an article. Stephen calls Him 'Son of Man,' which in Aramaic is what the name is in Peter's address.[1] Its *testimonia* quality is attested, for example, by the Cyprianic text[2] of the teaching-mode of the revelation of Christ, and which still preserves the original incidence of the name in the heading: *Quod et Homo et Deus*—that is to say, these two designations do not stand for complements in the nature of Christ, but are two other names for Him in the pedagogic list of the first teaching-mode. Thus again we come upon the twin influences in the composition of Mandaean books, of the Gospel text, and the *Testimonia*.

Let us take another illustration of how those two influences combine in the narrative of the Baptism which is the foundation of the *Johannes-Buch*.[3] When the Mandaean comes to the details of the descent of the Spirit on Jesus Christ, he writes: 'The *Rūhā* made herself like a dove and cast a cross[4]

[1] *E.g.* Acts ii. 22 and vii. 56. See my book, *Jesus Christ and His Revelation*, 1927, 109 ff., on the name *Man* and its significance in the New Testament and other early Christian literature.

[2] *Testimonia*, ii. 10. [3] Lidzbarski, 108.

[4] This cross is cast by the cross-wise shadow of the bird's outstretched wings. Tertullian has the same touch of poetry—*De Oratione*, 11 and 13. The context to which the statement belongs is, however, not that

over the Jordan. A cross she cast over the Jordan; and made its waters change with varying colours. " O Jordon," she cried, " thou makest holy me and my seven children." ' Then follows the permission of the Baptist ' to baptise the deceiver (*i.e.* Jesus) in Jordan.' There can be no doubt that behind this editing of the Gospel narrative and its idea of the Spirit lies the shimmering concept of the *Sophia* who ' is the brightness of the everlasting light.'[1] She makes the colour effects. It must not be concluded, however, that she makes this concept of the Spirit. The *Sophia* and the Spirit are in it only as alternative names. This is not an instance of finding side by side what, in the growth of the idea of the Spirit, once were first and second stages of understanding. History does not permit us to imagine an original *Sophia* outline to a completed Spirit conception. The Mandaean writer helps us to this clear conclusion. The source for the Spirit and her children is Is. xi. 2.[2] Neither New Testa-

of imagination but religion. The Spirit came in the guise of prophecy and prophetic prayer where men took up the crosswise attitude of prayer. See Burch, *Expositor*, 1918, 425 ff.; Windisch, *Der Barnasbrief*, 1920, 370, where it is abundantly shown that the religious idea, which inspires that attitude, is due to influence of *Testimonia adversus Judaeos*. For other bird forms of the Spirit see Augustine, *Enarratio in Ps. xc.* (Sermo i.) 5; *Sermo* cv. 11 (*P.L.* xxxviii. 623); Eucherius, *Liber Formularum Spiritalis Intelligentiae* (*P.L.* l. 750D); Pseudo-Melito, *Clavis*, *s.v. Gallina* (ed. Mai).

[1] *Wisdom* vii. 26.

[2] Lebreton, 583. 3 rightly criticises those who argue that the Isaian source speaks of six spirits; and therefore could not be the source for seven spirits. Cf. Goguel, *La Notion Johannique de l'Esprit et ses antécédents historiques*, 1902, 52. 1. Lebreton cites *Enoch* lxi. 11 as having seven spirits. The place he has given to this citation may incline some of his readers to think that *Enoch* is the source of the idea for Christian

ment nor Mandaean writers had recourse to the Old Testament for that piece of Isaiah to be a basis for their concept, but to the *Testimonia* mode in which it was used as a testimony to the septiform Spirit. The concept is a *testimonia* feature. Its use by Justin [1] and by Irenaeus [2]—in spite of the latter's intwined cosmology—should have been enough to prove that. The alternative parentage of Spirit and *Sophia* for the seven children is borne out by the fact that the two are among the names which arise in the teaching-method of the revelation of Jesus Christ to convey to men His significances.[3] Both the material and the essentials of statement have been borrowed by the Mandaean writer from the New Testament and one of that book's structural sources.

There is even a more vivid way by which to realise the creative activity of those two influences in the *Johannes-Buch* than the further tracing of the Sophia-Spirit from whom it was a part of the Mandaean Baptist's mission to release men: 'Happy are they who can free themselves from the snares of *Rūhā*, from the filth and the shame and the close bondage'—and that is by reviewing this Baptist's charges against Jesus Christ. Of Him John is made to say that He lied to the Jews; He deceived the

and dependent literature, since that scholar puts it immediately after his statement that the Isaian source 'a donné naissance à la conception des sept esprits.' The source as the above text goes to show is a specifically Christian one.

[1] *Trypho*, 87. [2] *Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching*, 9.

[3] See *infra*, p. 123 f., for other considerations from *Testimonia* for the import of the Baptist narratives in the Fourth Gospel.

Jewish priests ; He cut men off from their seed and their wives ; He relaxed the Sabbath which Moses had made binding, and changed Jews into perverters of the ritual appointments and ordinances of the Temple.[1] That is a strikingly alive summary of the anti-cult principle of Christ's revelation, both as it finds expression in the New Testament and the *Testimonia*, written, of course, from an opponent's point of view. It is so alive that it suggests a first-century date for much of the *Johannes-Buch*. Though the anti-Judaic instrument of the first-century passed into the possession of the second and many later centuries ; with the passage from the first to the second century its anti-Judaism—and thus its anti-Cultism in the presence of Greek and Roman religions—met the softening influences of Greek and Graeco-Roman philosophy. The Mandaean book has the same incisive edge as the Gospels or the Pauline Epistles. There are two other temporal notes in the *Johannes-Buch* which enable this first-century suggestion. There is a reference to the Christian Jews who fled from Jerusalem and are settled in a hill and river country.[2] This surely points to Pella. And there is an explicit reference to the overthrow of Jerusalem by the Romans : ' He destroyed the Temple and laid fire to Jerusalem.' The acuter perception of anti-Cultism in the revelation of Christ, and these notes of time, issue in the sug-

[1] Lidzbarski, 104.

[2] Lidzbarski, 114. I do not think that a reference to the Euphrates can be deduced from this text.

gestion that the earliest literary stratum in the Mandaean books may be dated somewhen before the composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[1] Reitzenstein[2] dates this stratum not later than 70 A.D., which is just about the date our independent investigations lead to. If that is a valid conclusion, then it follows that the late dates which are put to the Fourth Gospel are as wrong[3] as the accepted views concerning the connexions of *Logos* philosophy with that document. The priority of the Gospel to the *Johannes-Buch* appears to be indisputable.[4] That there are features of myth and cult growth which are pre-Christian seems to be equally certain. What is beyond contest is that such features can have had no influence on the figure and narrative of John the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel. Our next problem is to enquire whether the rise and place of figure and narrative are to be accounted for with the same naivete of naturalness as the origin of the Prologue.

The historicity of John the Baptist is not in

[1] There are, of course, considerable accretions to this earliest stratum in Mandaean literature. It looks as if students of this religion have been inclined to date its literary rise from them rather than by Bultmann's method, which is seeking the first deposit. Cf. *e.g.* Babelon, *Les Mandaïtes*, ii. 1150 (*Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 1880-1); Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaïtes des Coupes de Khouabar*, 1898, 224 ff.; Huart, *Mission Scientifique en Perse par J. de Morgan*; *Études Linguistiques*, 1904, Tome v. Pt. ii. x; but Brandt, *s.v.* Hastings' *Ency. Rel. and Ethics*, viii. 386, has the view that 'the rise of the Mandaean literature cannot well be dated earlier than the 1st cent. A.D.' Siouffi, *Études sur la Religion des Soubbas*, 1880, seems to have built his views on late verbal tradition.

[2] See his *Das Mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse und Evangelientradition* (1919).

[3] On this important question of date see further, *infra*, p. 225 ff.

[4] Pallis, *Mandaean Studies*, 1926, 115 ff., has shown some features of the influence of Christianity, especially on the *Right Ginza*.

question. We are concerned with the hows and whys that are implicit in the Baptist narrative which, as it is found in the text of the Fourth Gospel, is dovetailed into the matter of the Prologue. To answer these will mean that the same questions which accompany the narrative in the other Gospels will also have their answers. The John story then finds itself invading its Prologue where that document celebrates Christ the Light of mankind. Instead of presenting the Baptist, as the other Gospels have,[1] by means of an Isaian introduction, the writer of the Fourth Gospel has first reduced that introduction to a diamond point of meaning and worked that in with the material of the Prologue; and a little lower in the narrative cites the introduction as his best answer to vigilant priests and Levites (Jno. i. 23) who desired to know who he was. The writer of the Gospel is but touching in his sources with an exactness which shall lend life to his statement. Mark, for instance, does the same in his own manner. The only difference, if such it can be called, between the two writers is that Mark connects the Isaian introduction with the 'beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ,' and John with the Revealer and His revelation. Those terms do not mean a difference, but an identity of understanding. The Markan usage explicitly states that the Isaian excerpt is Christ's own choice; the Johannine usage deductively exhibits that it belongs to Christ's revelation. The Gospel writers are doing something after their

[1] Mt. iii. 3; Mk. i. 2 f.; Lk. iii. 4 f.

Lord. Now Jesus did with the Baptist just what He had done with Isaiah. He thrilled the Isaian citation with the novel springtide of His own revelation—the presage of His transforming usage of material from the Hebrew and cognate writings—and the Baptist was bathed with that vernal meaning so that he became the herald of that Spring. Both Old Testament and this noble specimen of Old Testament prophet knew not that vivifying unto fresh significances before they had encountered the Christ. The writings knew that as He used them for the purposes of His revelation : the intuition of the desert-preacher strove towards learning that when he saw Jesus.

It should be patent, therefore, that in this Isaian introduction we have a *testimonium*, and that it forms, according to the record of the Gospels, the first intimation of how Jesus Christ would utilise the Old Testament in the service of His revelation. Its fresh Springtide of meaning marks the final enshrouding Wintertide for the teachings of all old-world religions. It, too, leads us to the heart of the pathos which is about the figure of the Forerunner. The narrative is frank about these matters. In the first place there are the clear-cut antitheses which are the outcome of the Baptist's intuition ; and in the second place there are the natural and potent factors for the composing of the narrative. The antitheses are of two sorts : the overt are water and Spirit, the waning prophecy and the ascending prophecy ; the covert are inset in the names Lamb

and Son of God. There is a serious actuality in the first order of antitheses which, to a student of early historical documents, must certainly issue in the conviction that they could not have been fiction written by one who had personified a *testimonium*.[1] That view is altogether reinforced by an examination of the covert antitheses.

For John the 'Lamb of God' is the opposite of the Paschal victim of the Jewish religion. It could not be that he should have conceived of Azazel and Christ as antinomies. Just as the prophecy of Christ—for so he would naturally conceive of the revelation of Jesus—will supersede the old forms of prophecy; so also will the practical religion of Jesus fundamentally surpass the ancient Judaic cults. Thus the Baptist is not outlining in an ejaculation, as with brusque flame, a new and richer theory of sacrifice. He does not carry over the sacrificial efficacy of a multitude of animal victims and transmute that into the one perfect sacrifice of later Christian theology. What the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews may have done, John the Baptist could not do. The circumference of John's thought is another type of prophecy; and its centre is his own type of prophecy. When Origen says of

[1] Cf. Selwyn, *The Oracles of the New Testament*, 1912; *First Christian Ideas*, 1919, whose main thesis is that the Septuagint was for Christianity the most influential of books. He supposes, and tries most ingeniously to work out the opinion, that much of the New Testament was composed by men who brooded over the Greek Old Testament, and took thence language and incident which became New Testament by changing little more than the names of *dramatis personae*. There are scattered hints of help for the understanding of the New Testament in his books, but Selwyn did not know the teaching-mode of Christ's revelation.

the Lamb that He was given by God 'that the sins of the world might be taken away by the Lamb of God who died for all,'[1] he is intruding Hebraeo-Alexandrian theology into John's word. So also when we read the heading in the Cyprianic *Testimonia*:[2] *That He is called a Sheep and a Lamb*[3] *to be slain, and of the mystery of the Passion*, and under it find the reference John i. 29, we ought to conclude that the text of this earliest Christological document soon had its list of names for the Christ added unto by influences which were not native to itself. The Baptist is not giving utterance to a cry which is based on a second century addition to the text of the *Testimonia*. He is a man of uncommon powers, and his words flash out from his intuitive genius which owes nothing to the teaching method of his abrogator. His ejaculation is his graphic realisation of the abrogation of all the old-world rites for which he stood.

The second covert antithesis is represented by the title 'Son.' There are at least two reasons why the Baptist narrative in the Fourth Gospel should be considered as the original version of his story. They are these: 1. That the narrative there shows

[1] *Contra Celsum*, viii. 43. Smith, *Ante-Nicene Exegesis of the Gospels*, 1925, i. 34, translates the Cyprianic reference, as others from the *Testimonia*. He does not help students of early Exegesis as he might, for he nowhere indicates that in the Cyprianic writing, and similar writings, they are dealing with the controlling influence in earliest New Testament interpretation.

[2] ii. 15.

[3] Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: Its Theory and Practice*, 1925, 344 ff., on sheep or lamb or goat in Jewish Paschal ritual, helps us to reconstruct the mental background to John's cry.

rightly that the bird-form of the Spirit's descent was a mode of vision peculiar to John; 2. That the Voice from Heaven was not a part of John's vision. The first of these points is self-demonstrative. The Gospel[1] has kept an authentic statement of prophetic psychology. We note the lively expression of the inner instruction—'he that sent me . . . the same said unto me,' etc.—and the almost physical projection of the idea of the Spirit. Those things belong to the psychic equipment of this desert-preacher. Moreover, the bird-form of the Spirit's descent is an indication of the Baptist's alliance with ancient cult ideas. It will be remembered, for instance, how it is said that Noah sent out the raven[2] and then the dove—birds which were sensitive to or vehicles of the prophetic spirit—to declare if the waters had subsided.[3] And a Swedish scholar[4] has

[1] i. 33.

[2] Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 4 ff. See also the early second-century Rabbinical parallels, especially the one in *Berakoth*, 3a, where the *Bath-Qol* (the bird-form of prophecy) leaves the mouth of the speaker in the shape of a dove. As I have pointed out elsewhere this is a higher form of ornithomancy. The Baptist, with due propriety of language—Jn. i. 32—makes the bird-form of declaration to come from the mouth of God. Thus he shows us the actual spring of his vision as to whom and what Jesus was. The Johannine Baptist incident is authentically historic, when it is understood in the terms of prophetic psychology. For other bird-forms of the *Bath-Qol* in the second century see Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 1922, i. 129 f.

[3] It is a superfluous hypothesis to attempt then to find in the Fourth Gospel a subtle and elaborate contrast of a physical and spiritual creation emergent from the waters. Gressmann, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1920-21, 27 ff., and Wensinck, *The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology* (*Acta Orientalia*, 1923, i. 179), have made this mistake by finding filiations between Christ's baptism and cult epiphanies of the god as king.

[4] Hammarstedt, *Inspirationsfågeln* (*Nordiska Museet Fataburen*), 1908, 86 ff.

adduced some evidence to relate the Semitic usage with certain ritual properties in the greater Mediterranean world. It seems imperative to put the Baptist's comprehension of the visual winged figure he uses back into that cult context, if we are to understand him. Since there, too, it appears, we may find that significance which may comfortably fit his use of the title 'Son of God.' Its proper analogue would thus be in the discovery made by Nebuchadnezzar that a fourth 'like the Son of God'[1] walked with the three in the fiery furnace. This would look to be certain from the values that were given to the name.

It will be recalled that the other Gospels supply that name with quite another context: 'Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'[2] This is no more the Baptist's witness, but an adaptation. An analysis of that sentence shows that is a post-Johannine creation. Turner[3] has recently seen that in some sense it was made from a *testimonium*. Around the Baptist's name for Christ, as to a nucleus, has gathered some enswathing material from two of the chief Sapiential *testimonia* for Jesus Christ. From *Wisdom* ii. 18 came the name of 'Son of God' into the teaching-mode of the revelation,[4] and from Proverbs viii. 30 His

[1] Daniel iv. 25. Cf. both Hebrew and Greek versions of this phrase, which perhaps ought to be rendered 'a son of the gods.'

[2] Mk. i. 11, Matt. iii. 17, Lk. iii. 22. The variation in the three readings are very slight.

[3] *Op. cit.* 123. See *supra* for the valuable light that Lebreton and he have thrown on this passage.

[4] Burch, *St. Paul*, 37 ff.

name of the *Sophia* who was with God and was His 'darling'—a principal pedagogic agent for the instilling of the truth of the only-begotten Son into the early Christian mind. The Baptist saw Him and named Him as his insight allowed: the Synoptics report the narrative of the baptism with His name and its meanings as He had taught them. Once again it should be remarked that *Son*[1] and *Sophia* are in the same oral *Onomasticon* which bore Christ's revelation into the minds of the people. This *Testimonia* enrobing of the name used by the Baptist confirms it as history, and as well relieves the four Evangelists from the charge of making a divine Son of God after the image of whatever individual theology each has been supposed to work from.[2] The Synoptics do but say in other language: 'We have heard the Christ whom the Baptist foreran.' They make both him and the teaching-mode of Christ historic.

We may conclude, therefore, that the narrative of the Baptist is in its right historical place; that the version in the Fourth Gospel is older than that in the Synoptic Gospels;[3] that it is entirely free from

[1] The Syriac versions have dropped the name Son in Jn. i. 34 and read 'Elect of God.' This seems to be a gloss in behalf of Messianism. It is to be doubted altogether that the name 'Son of God' was used in the revelation of Christ with Messianic significance.

[2] *E.g.* Loisy, 121 ff.

[3] One other point in the Matthew version should be remarked, iii. 15, where Jesus is said to plead 'for so it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness,' represents an editorial touch from the pen of a Christian who has lost the sense of Christ's anti-Judaism. There are several such touches in this Gospel. Thus we have three versions of the Baptism in the accepted text of the Gospels: the Johannine, the *Testimonia* version, and the Judaically retouched version in Matthew.

theological influence, and especially from anything like the overshadowing potencies of *Logos* philosophy; that the view in it of Christ and His religion is due solely to John's intuition.[1] Further, if the temporal argument concerning the earliest stratum in the Mandaean *Johannes-Buch* holds good, we can conclude that as the Synoptic version of the Baptist narrative is older than it, then we have in the Johannine version and the Prologue material which, being earlier, argues already for a dating of the Gospel before 70 A.D. This cardinal problem passes over to the chapters which follow.

[1] It is of value to notice that, according to the evidence of the Cyprianic text of the *Testimonia*, Is. xl. 3 f., which is cited in the Gospels as the Baptist's warranty, is one of several *testimonia* under the heading *Quod Deus Christus*. There is evidently no special heading for the Forerunner.

III

CERTAIN INCIDENTS AND THEIR FESTIVAL CONTEXT

IT would have been strange if the opinion had not arisen that, so far as the order of events went in the Gospel, Chronology and the Festivals meant the same thing, but with a small difference in spelling. The troubles came when we tried to work out the equation. For we appear to have been forced into the return of at least four contrary answers. To the plain assertion that the Festivals give chronology to the Gospel is countered that the Festivals deny it temporal order. And to the view that the Festivals lend a chronology which is corrective of what is to be found in the Synoptics is opposed the opinion that the Festivals lend only a redactive literary mechanism to the Fourth Gospel. We did not come to those contrarieties of conclusion by the single study of its notes of Time. The pressure towards them has been exercised upon us by two predisposers of opinion. Tatian and Ludolph of Saxony can be taken as their typical mouthpieces. The first pair of contraries are to be traced back to the act of fitting together Johannine and Synoptic material, which act patently demonstrated that

there was historical material in the Fourth Gospel that could not be fitted with the Synoptics. What could not be put into the *Harmony* was sure to create dis-harmony with the theory of that document. The second pair of contraries have to go back to the first scholarly formulation of the theory of 'dislocations' in the text of the Gospel. There is small distance between the claim that a different setting has been given to certain literary material and the theory of different or no chronology. This first pair of contraries bears within itself the seed of such theoretical growth. The second pair is the creation of developed Gospel criticism.

A possible corrective for these contraries may be stated in Professor Turner's [1] words: 'St. John's Gospel,' he writes, 'distinguishes itself from the other three by its careful enumeration of six notes of time, five of them Jewish festivals, between the Baptism and the Crucifixion; and these precise and detailed recollections of an eye-witness must be allowed decisive weight against the apparently divergent testimony of the three Synoptics, not to say that their very precision may have consciously arrived at a silent correction of impressions erroneously derived from earlier evangelical tradition.' Its opposite is based on what is claimed as being the artificial character [2] of the Gospel's text where the Festivals are introduced thus: καὶ ἐγγὺς or ἦν δὲ

[1] Hastings, *Bible Dictionary*, v. 407, *s.v. Chronology of the New Testament.*

[2] *E.g.* Goguel, ii. 268.

ἐγγύς.[1] This view has its own surface attestation. But, like the first opinion, it stands or falls by a judgment on the literary nature of the whole Gospel. For that first contrary, when it is cleared of those impulses which come from the formalities of Gospel criticism—the necessity to group the first three against the Fourth Gospel and the consequent differences in the appreciation of their chronologies—asks the same question as its opposite: 'Have we yet understood why the Festivals are given so large a place in the Fourth Gospel?'

We have looked upon them as indicators of time, or we may borrow Turner's language and say 'five notes of time.' It is true that they do give us temporal indications which seem to have been compressed out of view in the other Gospels. But we shall have to find that the Fourth Gospel does not do this because its writer aims at putting right the chronological faults of earlier writers. He had no training in European views on the criticism of the Gospels. And what in this particular he had not we shall not want for the understanding of his book. Thus we are left with so much literary material in a certain chronological framework. Now this material which has touch with the Festivals occupies at least one-half of the original Gospel—that is, if we measure it by omitting the Prologue (and dependent matter) and the appendix. Our chronological interest in them has largely hidden from us the

[1] Cp. Jn. ii. 13, v. 1, vii. 2, xi. 55. Of these v. 1 has the only variant in the received text: ἦν ἑορτὴ κτλ.

influence of the occurrence of the Festivals upon the didactic and episodic contents of the Gospel. A fresh study of them will constrain us to see that in them we have not only signs of a narrator's careful interest, but primarily of Christ's attitude towards and religious valuation of the capital expressions of Hebrew religion. These facts, and the bulk of the material concerning the Festivals, will be bound to fashion a new view of the nature of the original Gospel. We must, then, take in turn each section of that material.

A.—ii. 13 ff. *The expulsion of vendors from the Temple precincts.*—A very clear instance of 'dislocation' is the verdict of those who view it from the formal findings of Gospel criticism. But is it? There can be no doubt that the first three Gospels agree upon a temporal position for the incident. They place it among the events of Christ's last visit to Jerusalem. For them it comes almost at the end of their accounts of the Lord:[1] in the Fourth Gospel it is put at the beginning. The Synoptists will seem to have gone wrong chronologically to a degree which must discredit their historical veracity if the writer of the Fourth Gospel has so to correct them. The concern of this Gospel, however, is not with the correction of an earlier chronology for the life of Christ. It is setting forth in exact temporal relations with the Festival calendar of the Jews some of the great features of the revelation of Jesus Christ and of His work as Revealer. There is no reason to doubt that the incident is rightly placed

[1] Mt. xxi. 12 ff, Mk. xi. 15 ff., Lk. xix. 45 ff.

both in the first three Gospels and in the Gospel of John. And there are most important reasons for believing that the precision, which the Fourth Gospel gives to the ideas that made the incident, points the necessity for its inclusion in the Gospels on more than one occasion in the public life of Jesus. What are those reasons? And in what way has the Fourth Gospel sharpened the accounts in the other Gospels?

The literary factors of the incident are three: the time, the deed, and a *testimonium*. It is in Christ's use of an excerpt from the Old Testament, as each of the Gospels records, that His teaching lies, and hence therein lies the cause of the incident's inclusion by the Evangelists. That excerpt is from Jer. vii. 11.[1] We are precluded from thinking that its quotation was an act of piety on Christ's part, as if He would ease the transition from unspiritual to less unspiritual modes of worship in the Church which was to grow out of the Temple.[2] It was what He taught. The words of Jeremiah were burdened with His message.[3] Indeed, that new

[1] Not Is. lvi. 7 as marginal references in N.T. and so many commentators say.

[2] Some such idea appears to be in the view of Caldecott and those who think with him; compare his article *The Significance of the Cleansing of the Temple*, *J.T.S.* 1922-3, 382 ff.

[3] *E.g.* Mk. xi. 17 f. It may have been that Christ used the words to the vendors. Thus there would be great reason why He should explain them to the people. The latest commentary on the Second Gospel, Rawlinson, *St. Mark*, 1925, 156, has made the regrettable mistake of interpreting the incident as an act of piety 'prompted by zeal for the holiness of God's house.' He denies the abrogation of Jewish practices by an appeal to Mk. vii. 8. That incident, as Mk. ii. 13 ff., depends from an anti-Judaic *testimonium*.

and vital burden was the actual 'aition' of the act of Christ. Such a foreign motive, for the use of Jeremiah, as the influence of the early apocryphal *Gospel of the Ebionites*,[1] in which Jesus says: 'I came to abrogate sacrifices; if ye cease not to sacrifice, the Wrath will not cease towards you,' is more than unlikely, since that writing is most probably to be found to be an erratic offshoot from the *Anti-Judaiaca* of earliest Christianity. So also on both counts, unlikelihood and foreignness, may the cult of the Dioscuri be set aside as the motive of the whole incident: 'the whip of small cords' was woven by the Spirit of Him who could give transforming meanings to Old Testament words and not by one who wished to identify Him with Castor or Pollux. What then was the new thing which gave such didactic energies to Jeremiah?

The answer to that question is in the extant texts of *Testimonia adversus Judaeos*. These show Jeremiah vii. to be a classic source for the repudiation of Jewish sacrifices. Preceding Barnabas'[2] citation of that source, for instance, is this statement: 'These (*i.e.* sacrifices) then he has abrogated, in that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ has no man-made offering, being without yoke of necessity' —a passage which shows that Barnabas has, in his slower-moving mind, as keen a sense of the anti-Judaic values of the revelation of Christ as the Epistle to the Galatians. It is that revelation which

[1] Epiphanius, *Adv. Haereses*, xxx. 16, *P.G.* xi. 432C.
[2] *Ep* ii. 6 f.

has Jeremiah vii. in its service, whilst it is the Revealer who creates the episode in its inevitable temporal context of the Passover. Matthew and Mark tell us just those things. Luke has associated them with Christ's cry as He 'beheld the city.... If thou hadst known,' etc., a cry which refers to the conquest of Jerusalem by the Romans. This event, Jesus taught, was one of His own comings.[1] He would come, as it were, on the wings of Roman eagles; and the destruction of the Temple would be the tangible fulfilment of His revelation. Luke, then, has placed the incident almost in that *didactic* context. The Fourth Gospel puts it there with directness and certainty. For its writer has properly seen that Christ's dual teaching of the destruction of the Temple belongs to the Expulsion incident. That teaching, which was used against Him in His trial and in derision when He was dying,[2] was not meant to express an apocalyptical idea—now a triumphant Jewish Temple, then an obliterating descent of Jupiter—with Christ Himself adumbrated as the Divine Legionary or *Jupiter Angelus*. Its clear-cut antithesis is between the religion of the Temple and the revelation of the Revealer whom the tomb could not hold. The rising of Christ from the dead is the final abrogation of all old-world religion.[3] That is why the episode of the Expulsion

[1] See Mt. xxiv. 3-28; Lk. xxi. 5-24.

[2] Mk. xiv. 58, xv. 29; Mt. xxvi. 61, xxvii. 40.

[3] A more vivid indication of this method of interpretation could not be desired than is to be found in Acts ii. 14 ff. Peter, facing the Jewish world in Jerusalem, preaches that Lord and Christ on the basis of the

is found so near to the beginning of the Fourth Gospel. The teaching of Christ in its Passover context cuts at the roots of Jewish religion. What the Fourth Gospel underlines, by giving the Expulsion the place it holds in the text, is the vital antithesis of the Revealer over against a repudiated ritual.[1] What also this Gospel means by putting it there, and other Gospels at a different time and position, is that as the successive Passovers presented the same features, so also would He repeat the contrasts of His revelation.[2] It must be candidly said that this far-reaching conclusion—far-reaching as to the composition of the Fourth Gospel and as concerns the content of Christ's teaching—ought to be accepted only on the condition that we find the Evangelist has compiled a document which showed a like antithesis between Christ's revelation and the other fundamental ideas and practices of the Jewish cult. That forms a part of our task in this book.

B.—ii. 23 ff.–iii. 1 ff. *The visit of Nicodemus to Jesus.*—There are two considerations which are

testimonia which Jesus used for foundation to His declaration of the Coming which Peter's sermon celebrates. Cf. Mt. xxiv. 29 ff., Mk. xiii. 24 ff, Lk. xxi. 25 ff. Burkitt, *J.T.S.* 1923-4, 386 ff., considers that the Johannine saying about the destruction of the Temple means that 'true worship involves little material expenditure. Sacrifices, etc., could be arranged for in three days.' It thus would seem that Micah (vi. 6 ff.) had a higher notion of worship than Jesus Christ.

[1] Eisler, *Jesus and the Jewish Blood Sacrifices* (*Quest*, 1921, 230 ff.) argues for that repudiation by a Jesus of Nazareth who 'was a great heroic and conscious revolutionary.' There is a world of difference between that description and the 'Revealer.' On Eisler's views of Jesus see my book *Jesus Christ and His Revelation*, 147 ff.

[2] Cf. the conclusions in the last chapter of this book, p. 204 ff.

either altogether or almost altogether lost to view when commentators turn to this interview: they seem to lose altogether that literary sensitiveness which would be demanded of them if they were dealing with an allusive piece of classical writing; and they almost altogether lose the sense of this interview's Festival context. The Evangelist gives an impression of the visit. We treat it as if it were a complete account. The interspaces are not seen —in which Nicodemus has said the other things of his mind. Only the essential answers of Jesus are told us. But we treat them as if He had been dogmatically inhibited by, and hence as dogmatically concise as a judge in his expression of, two ideas: the view of rebirth according to the Mystery-religions and the developed doctrine of Baptism.[1] The first of these had no place at all in His mind; and the second, Time forbade to be there. We must, then, see the interspaces. We must also trace the causal ideas of the interview. Our way to them can be opened if we sensitively understand the Festival context. Up to the present the Paschal reference has chiefly been considered as a striking date on which Jesus declared Himself as the Messiah. That declaration had gathered followers. Nicodemus stole to Jesus in the night, attracted by His works of wonder, but puzzled by His claims. So runs the general view. Let us understand at once

[1] *E.g.* Loisy, 158-159; Bauer, *ad loc.*, also treats the incident in this way. This writer adds a rich apparatus of references which are of use to the student of the History of Religions, but not to the interpreter of the Fourth Gospel.

that not even a thin shadow of a Messiah falls on his interview with Jesus Christ. Nicodemus' description of Him is διδάσκαλος. The idea of miracle ought also to be excised from the incident, since Nicodemus' σημεία in iii. 2 goes back to the σημεῖον in ii. 18. Both Jewish magistrate and Jewish crowd ask for the Teacher's 'signs.' Both ask for the confirmation of the abrogative claims of His revelation. The Nicodemus who is in the interspaces of this episode understands what Christ's expulsive teaching means for the ritual principle of the Passover: he comes to know what it means for the central things of the Day of Atonement. For him, indeed, 'the axe is laid to the root of the tree.'

The Evangelist records three great antinomies in the thought of Jesus and Nicodemus. The ear that listens to them finds the silence of the interspaces broken. They are: 1. Water and Spirit. 2. Expiation and Potencies of Christ's Revelation. 3. Death and Life in Christ. When these are placed in the context of profound intellectual trouble, concerning the most cherished historic memory of the Jews and that trouble as it merged into the larger one concerning their most cherished ritual doings, we can get their values right. The first pair, Water and Spirit, unlike the term 'signs' does not take us back to the previous chapter of the Gospel. The words have been made to do so that baptismal significance might be given them. But in the third chapter both have to do with birth. It is in this fact that we begin to see wherein comes

the Day of Atonement as the joint-creator of the Nicodemus incident. For the Hebrews, water is the great creative element. Moreover, as Jewish scholars have observed, their people's daily prayers thread together the ideas of rain (as creative water) and resurrection.[1] On the Day of Atonement the High Priest prayed for rain, and libations were poured out for the blessing of the waters.[2] In the period of *Tishri* 'the world was created.'[3] There is, then, every reason for believing that one of the central factors, in the practice and thought of this very sacred day, was inspired by immemorial ideas concerning water and life. Thence was the birth of all.[4] Here the thought of Christ and His interlocutor has not to do with institutional theology, but with Semitic cosmology. Nicodemus is held by the Folk-foundations of the great Festival in his nation's religion: Jesus tells him of the freedom from all such ideas in His revelation. Water and Spirit are antithetical symbols. The Baptist showed that in one way: the Nicodemus incident exhibits the antithesis in a more certain way. With the Baptist the contrast between them has softened edges because he has realised something of its truth; with Nicodemus the contrast is absolute, though he

[1] Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 1898, 301; Wensinck, 173, also cites this passage. Cf. also *Ta'anit* 7a.

[2] *Yoma* 53. [3] *Ta'anit* i. 7; cf. Wensinck, 168.

[4] On Tishri and Creation see Gray, 299 ff. This scholar offers much help for the understanding how the significances of the New Year's Festival passed over to the other ceremonies in the Jewish year. Wensinck, *Verhandlingen der Koninklije Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afd. *Letterkinde N.R.* xxv. 2, 1925, ought also to be consulted.

does not realise the reasons of their sundering differences, whilst Jesus Christ knows them fully and speaks His own revelation. With John there is the mimetic maintenance of the Folk-belief concerning water in his rite of baptism: with Nicodemus there is the torment of that Folk-belief's problems because of its environing embodiment in the Passover. The interspaces of the incident are vocal with the questions of a primitive cosmological idea raised to the powers of a central doctrine in Judaism through its Festival framework. Thus Water and Spirit are irreconcilables.[1] They do not lead from the one to the other as if they represented ordered stages in the history of our religion, that is, from the use of water to the grace of the Spirit. Nor is it possible to conceive that the two were brought into union in any authentic saying of Jesus Christ.[2] What the Baptist knew must be kept apart, He would not treat in a less lucid manner. Indeed, the whole incident depends for sense upon keeping together the ideas of creative water and the hope of resurrection as representing the mind of Nicodemus, and of Spirit and life through Himself as being the responses of Jesus to His interviewer's disquiet of mind.

A glance at the narrative shows that Jesus is not following out ideas of His own, which are foreign to the interview or which have been placed on His

[1] iii. 5 omit ἐξ ὕδατος; cf. *e.g.* Pallis, *Notes on St. John and the Apocalypse*, 1926, 5, argues for the omission of the phrase, but on the ground of a later theological idea. It is rather the work of a very early Johannist editor, *infra*, p. 179 ff.

[2] Jn. iv. 1-2 represents an intrusion into the text which was made after the original sense and place of Water in c. iii. had been lost. See *infra*, p. 119.

lips by an Evangelist who seeks to portray Him as the embodiment of a new orientation of His religion, when He goes on from the ideas of birth and water to ideas of His descent and eternal life and judgment. This represents such a true progress in Nicodemus' religious troubles and Christ's responses that the Jewish ruler could have come to Him and said: 'Rabbi, thou knowest how it is said among us, "God hath the three keys of rain, of birth, and of the rising of the dead";[1] and with these on the Day of Atonement He unlocks the life of the world and of men: "how speakest thou then of Spirit and a rising from the dead into eternal life?"'[2] The Ta'anitic saying moves on from water and birth to resurrection, even as must Jesus. And He moves on with scrupulous regard for the curves of His interlocutor's thought.

Thus when He speaks of the descent of the Son of Man He is not intruding, nor is the Evangelist causing Him to intrude, a tenet of Paulinism[3] on the attention of a bewildered Nicodemus. Jesus is using the familiar dialect of Folk-belief common to Semitic peoples that on this night of Festival angels and spirits descend at the command of God.[4] Jesus puts this dialect to the service of His revelation. The dialect is in Nicodemus' mind, and Jesus answers him by using the terms of a *Descensus* for

[1] *Ta'anit* 2a; cf. Philo, *Biblical Antiqs.* xiii. 6.

[2] Cf. *Enoch* xxii. 9: *οὗ ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς*, restoring the Gizeh text by the help of the best Ethiopic manuscript, *G*; Charles' ed. *Enoch* 361.

[3] Eph. iv. 8-9.

[4] *E.g. Kûran, Sura*, 97, cf. *infra*, p. 78.

Himself: 'that whosoever believeth in Him may have eternal life.' [1]

How far the thought of Jesus is away from the Folk concomitants of the Festival, and yet how near His answers keep to the problems they raise in Nicodemus, is to be seen again when He goes on from the idea of a Descent to the matter of Judgment and Life. For the Mishnah [2] reminds us that 'on New Year's Day all who come into the world pass before Him as sheep, so it is said "he fashioneth the hearts of all, that considereth all their works."' [3] This Folk-idea of Judgment had to do both with the supply of creative water to the world and man [4] and with the hope of man living again on the earth.[5] Jesus lifts these Folk-matters on to the plane of the revelation of God in Himself. Belief in that God means always eternal life. It shatters the cosmological and judicial menaces of the calendar of the Festivals. And there is no judgment save that which men bring on themselves through their love of the darkness of old-world practices and ideas and by their rejection of the revelation of God. The baptism with this Spirit is unto a life and wisdom which finally dismisses the principle of expiation as

[1] The words, 'And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up' (iii. 14a), seem to me to be a disconnected comment which someone who knew Barnabas, *Ep.* xii. 5 ff., has pressed into the original text. Of course, the phrase, 'which is in heaven,' that ends verse 13 is to be omitted with *Cod. W*, etc.

[2] *Shabbath* 2.

[3] Ps. xxxiii. 14; cf. Wensinck, 182. [4] Cf. *Rosh Hashshana* i. 2.

[5] Rabbi Johanan's commentary on *Shab.* 2 in Surhenusius, *Versio Latina atque Notae ad Mischnam*, ii. 313b, or Gray, 303.

belonging to the Folk-mind of that world, and as having no part in the ways of God manifested in Jesus Christ.

C.—v. *Bethesda and the Jews.*—This incident which occurred in the *House of Mercy*[1] by the sheep-pool demands, for its understanding, the Folk-lore passage which is either omitted or obelised in texts of the Gospel both early and late. It runs: 'Waiting for the moving of the water: for an angel of the Lord went down at times into the pool, and agitated the water: whosoever then first stepped in after the troubling of the water became well, no matter the disease with which he suffered.'[2]

Now this passage enables us to clear up definitely, first of all, the rather vague Festival reference in verse one. A number of ancient authorities read ἑορτή, and that reading has been followed, for instance, in the Revised Version: 'a feast.' But an equally large array of ancient evidence reads ἡ ἑορτή, that is 'the Feast.' The Folk-element in the narrative determines that the reference is to the period of the New Year festivals,[3] since it is the

[1] Cf. Pallis, 9. This most interesting and acute annotator of the text of the Gospel makes the mistake of looking upon the omitted verse 4 as being the legend of a miracle, and that when it was intruded into the text it affected the matter-of-fact record by changing κένωσιν into κίνησιν. Pallis thinks this record simply told of the gathered sick who waited for the water to be *poured out* daily, since it would be contaminated by the diseases of the bathers.

[2] It is a curious textual judgment for Bauer, 76, to say that Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 5, is 'the oldest certain witness' for this piece of the Gospel text. That arbitrarily does away with the possibility of earlier papyrus witness as is represented actually, for example, in certain of the Greek codices.

[3] The idea that the reference was to *Purim* is inadmissible; cf. Bauer, 75; Loisy, 199.

Hebrew analogue,[1] to the Kûranic parallel brought out in the interpretation of the Nicodemus incident, for the belief that angels and spirits were sent down by the Lord to do His bidding in the Festival-time of the creative waters. In that remarkable repository of Palestinian Folk-lore, the *Books of Enoch*, there are ' angels of the waters ' who both cause the movements of the waters[2] and are the ministers of God's judgment upon men.[3] They did these things in a special period of the cycle of festivals ; and there can be no doubt that the Folk-evidence of this chapter of the Gospel marks the New Year as the time of its happening.

The Revealer breaks in upon the Folk-essentials of this great festive expression of the Jewish religion with the truth of Himself. He also ' breaks the Sabbath ' (v. 18), with all its cult formalities, by a cardinal principle of His revelation. The true God manifested in Him shows that men can come directly to Him. They see how he thinks and works : how He is and was and shall be : how He does and had done and will do. The exquisite sense of the interaction of Father and Son (*e.g.* v. 36 ff.), and the still more exquisite declaration of the oneness of Father and Son in active word and deed, overthrow the garnered cults and superstitions of the ancient world as no other power could. The opposition of the Jews, with their intention to silence His revelation, witnesses to that fact.

[1] Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 1924, ii. 453 f., give some lesser Rabbinical parallels.

[2] *Enoch* lx. 16, 21 f. [3] *Enoch* lxvi. 1-2.

Once more we are able to see that this Bethesda incident [1] is meant to portray how certain phases of the revelation of Jesus Christ irretrievably cast down the capital expression of Jewish religion in the New Year's festival, by His declaration of the judgment of the God of Life. For to believe in the revelation of Jesus is to go on into life, and that is God's judgment. And not to believe in Him is to go on into moral death, and that too is God's judgment. Then, as was ever His way, He presses their dialect of Folk-religion into the service of the timeless significance of His revelation when He tells the Jews that all who are in the place of the dead shall be judged with this judgment (v. 28 f.). Thus the ideas of the revelation are always apart from the literary material it subdues to its own use; whilst the Revealer, in being and work, manifests Himself in such vital contrast with the religious material of the ancient world as to abrogate and not to develop its religion.[2]

[1] Kundsin, *Topologische Überlieferungsstoffe im Johannes-Evangelium*, 1925, 34 ff., uses this incident as an illustration of his thesis that what matters in the Johannine presentation of things is site and not chronology. This is to ignore the most essential feature in the composition of the Gospel, which is, for example, that the Festival framework alone can account for the phases of the Revealer and His revelation which such incidents present. Further, that this most necessary framework destroys his contention that the Gospel is made up of separate *pericopes*. Kundsin's theory is logical because of its basis—that cult significances cling to certain sites; and his conclusion that the Gospel is the first *Peregrinatio* is a logical one, if the basis could stand. But the truth is that the sites of its incidents have meaning only as they appear in their temporal settings.

[2] Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christenthums*, iii. 325 ff., misses the point of this incident, and also that of others, through his theory that the Evangelist forces his material to elucidate or illustrate sayings of Jesus—in this instance: 'The Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath.'

D.—vii. *Jesus' Preaching at the Feast of Tabernacles.*—This chapter covers the whole period of the Feast. And its evidence of how the Jews expected to find Jesus there is some help towards the view which the Gospel presents to us, that it was His custom to declare His revelation where and when it could most vividly demonstrate its distinctive qualities. This would be a natural thing for Him to do, since He is aware from the beginning of His public life that the Jews will kill him. The work of revelation, then, throws upon Him the grave necessity so to manifest Himself that His powers to overthrow and to create might be most profoundly realised and most illustratively expressed. The bulk of the chapter tells the story of the disturbed condition of the mind of the Jews with reticent skill. The writer has two eyes. They see Jerusalem, during the Feast, with such a power to select the right phrase and act of criticism that the sympathetic reader knows the states of opposition as if he had been given a full diary of the period. The moral courage of Jesus is touched in. It would be decorated if the writer had been fitting a legendary Christ in a ferial framework. The chapter is a remarkable piece of reporting by an eye-witness.

Where it comes into the sorts of relation with the Feast of Tabernacles which exhibit the necessity for the Festival and its significance, that we may comprehend Jesus and His message, is at the point where His sermon on the great day of the Feast is quoted (vii. 37 ff.). A tiny fragment of this

sermon remains. It has, however, live ends of thought, so that with it and them it is possible to seize the bearing of His message. This fragment reads: 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the writing saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.'[1] Why is Jésus speaking in this way? Was there any special call why His mind should be occupied with thoughts of water and men's thirst?

The Mishnah informs us that 'at the Feast of Tabernacles the world is judged in respect of water.'[2] And Zechariah tells us how the nations go up to Jerusalem at this Feast to worship the Lord of Hosts. They that do not go up, upon them shall be no rain and the plagues of thirst and sterility.[3] The central Folk-motive of the Feast of Tabernacles was the reason for Jesus' choice of His subject. To its primitive fertility notions of God and fashioning of rites of worship Jesus opposes the antithetical powers of His revelation and Himself; for by their reception the living water of God flows out to men. For a ritual or Folk-view of a God, who could be influenced to give or withhold water from man and the earth, the God was substituted in whom men might quench their spiritual thirst. And in the revelation of this God by Jesus a significant factor cannot be ignored by us: Jesus cries to men to come unto Himself. There could not be a clearer and simpler

[1] On vii. 39 see *infra*, p. 83 ff.

[2] *Shabbath* 2. On the ritual use of water in this Feast, see Strack and Billerbeck, ii. 799 ff.

[3] Zech. xiv. 16 ff.

indication that the revelation is in being as well as in word. The devastating effect of His message upon Jewish ideas and practices can be seen by the comments of His audience, as these are graphically recorded by the Evangelist (*v.* 40 ff.).

We have not yet got the whole scale of Jesus' thought from the fragment, for we have not examined His citation. At first it looks to be a curious allusion to or perhaps a broadly paraphrastic rendering of something from the Old Testament. It is scarcely possible to be more definite than that in a description of what commentators have done with the citation. Since a string of verses like the following:—Is. xliii. 20, xliv. 3, lv. 1, lviii. 11; Ezek. xlvii. 1-12; Joel ii. 28, iii. 18; Zech. xiii. 1, xiv. 8; Cant. iv. 15—has been suggested as possible parallels or sources.[1] Or the lead of two short writings, wrongly ascribed to the pen of Cyprian, has been accepted and their meaning for a part of the quotation, 'out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.' Those writings[2] are specimens of symbolising interpretation. They make out that the river of living water first appeared in the Passion of Jesus Christ; hence the word 'belly' is supposed to have meant the pierced side of the Lord.[3] Or the phrase ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας is treated as irrational and grotesque, and it is erased to put ἐκ πέτρας σκληρᾶς αὐτῷ in its place: so that the meaning would be like this: 'To him who believes in

[1] *E.g.* Bauer, 109; Nestlé's marginal references *ad loc.*

[2] *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 9; *De Rebaptismate*, 14.

[3] *E.g.* Grill, ii. 16. 1; Loisy, 272: 'c'est le seul sens naturel du passage.'

me (in the words of the Scriptures), rivers of water will flow out.' [1]

Of these three modes with the citation it must be remarked that the first misses the exact source of the citation, the second misses Jesus' meaning by following the pseudo-Cyprianic symbolism, and the third misses the very tiny point for emendation in the text by an unnecessary piece of textual intrusion, at the bidding of Greek sources which have no connexion with the words of Jesus.

The portion of Jesus' saying which is verifiable at once is that phrase concerning 'he that believeth.' This was from Is. xxviii. 16 b, which instead of reading: 'He that believeth shall not make haste,' ought to read on the authority of the Septuagint: 'He that believeth shall not thirst.' [2] Now that source is attached to the Isaian statement which is greatly used in earliest Christianity: 'Behold I lay in Zion the chiefest stone,' etc. The Massoretic text clearly shows a hiatus between this stone and a belief which quenches a man's thirst. Jesus, in John vii. 38, supplies the piece which unites these two incompatible ideas, and as well the key to His teaching which caused the multitude of His hearers to go away, as the account tells us, discussing His

[1] Pallis, 17 f. He corrects the text from Ps. lxxvii. 16, cxiii. 8; Ex. xvii. 6, Neh. ix. 15, Is. xlviii. 21, *Wisdom* xi. 4, and derives the dative αὐτῷ from the last three references.

[2] Cf. Condamin, *Le Livre d'Isaïe*, 1905, 183. Note especially Justin's use of this Isaian passage, *Trypho*, cxiv. 4. Justin cites it exactly as Jesus does, and to show that He was the *Stone*. In that remarkably helpful book by Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, 1923, 66 f., the base of the saying of Jesus is traced to Zech. xiv., but thus the *Testimonia* source is forgotten.

message which declared who He was. If a stone or rock is associated with running water, it is a figurative mishap to describe its source by the word 'belly.' The Greek word κοιλία denotes also the hollow part of the human body [1] and a hollow place in the earth. Great stones or rocks can have hollows, as Strabo [2] knew when he used the word κοιλάς to describe such a hollow. The palaeographical difference between these two Greek words is so very small that whether the text of the New Testament should record physiology and physiography depends on the presence or absence of a single vowel. Let us restore the hollow to the stone or rock, and both Isaiah and Jesus have gained the inestimable quality of truthful speech.

But Jesus Christ did not cry to men that they should come unto Him and quench their thirst, so that He might show how accurately He knew the Isaian text. The citation on His lips becomes as personal as His invitation. Men are to come unto 'Me'; and living water flows from 'His hollow.' A Cyprianic writing will elucidate His usage further. In that churchman's most valuable version of the *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* [3] this passage from Isaiah xxviii. 16 is given as the source of the very outstanding name for Jesus, *Stone* or *Rock*.[4] We

[1] Cf. also the Rabbinical parallels for this meaning: Strack and Billerbeck, II. 492.

[2] 545.

[3] ii. 16. The hiatus is manifest, and the close of the citation, 'et qui crediderit in eum non confundetur,' is evidently erroneous.

[4] See Burch, 125 ff.

must recognise that in His sermon on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles Jesus had once more put the meanings of Himself into the name *Stone* or *Rock*, and that it declared to men how the rivers of living water would flow out to them from the hollow in Him. This interpretation fulfils the demands made upon Jesus from Festival context and literary metaphor and original Isaian text. For at the Feast of Tabernacles He is declaring His surpassing revelation, and Himself as Revealer, in terms of the *Rock* whence alone issues the water of life. Moreover, Paul[1] had learnt these same things from his Lord, though we see the *Rock* as the poet saw 'the hid battlements of Eternity' where the 'shaken mists a space unsettle,' when he writes: 'They drank of a spiritual rock, and that *Rock* was Christ.' There is no call here to enquire whether the writer of the Fourth Gospel had tried to dispel those mists from about a reference by Paul to Jesus as the Rock, and thus had happened upon this cry he places on the lips of Jesus. The mists would not have gone if the cry expresses his attempt. There is no doubt that the teaching-mode of Jesus in His revelation creates both His own statement and Paul's, and that it was familiar to His audiences is the only reason why His sermon is summed up in the one appeal.

E. — viii. *The Light of the World and Man's Freedom.* — The original beginning of that portion of the Gospel which is contained in chapter eight has been lost. The πάλιν οὖν of verse twelve is plain

[1] 1 Cor. x. 4.

evidence for the need of some prefatory matter. What that was cannot be conjectured, but what Festival-note was in it can be restored. This is at least important for the help it offers towards the determining of the literary structure of the Gospel,[1] and also for the disclosing of why and what Jesus has thus spoken.

Josephus[2] informs us that there were two capital features in the Feast of Dedication : its name, which was the Feast of the Lights ; and the reason for the name, which was because of the appearance of ' a freedom beyond our hopes.' Both these features are supported by the Maccabean documents which speak about the beginnings of the festival.[3] Lights were kindled on the eve of the festival both in the temple and the homes of the people[4] to celebrate the deliverance of Israel and the Israelitish religion from the despoiling of foreign conquerors. The coincidence of the festival's date, the 25th of Chisleu, and the winter solstice may point, through its name φῶτα, to some relation with the ancestral worship of a fire- or light-god.[5] The presence of such a strain of worship in older Jewish religion is most popularly

[1] See closing chapter of this book.

[2] *Antiquities*, xii. 7. 7.

[3] 1 *Macc.* iv and 2 *Macc.* x.

[4] *Shabbath* 21b ff.

[5] On this subject, see Gray, 290 ff. Cf. 2 *Macc.* x. 3 : ' Striking stones they took fire out of them.' This looks like a touch of primitive rite Cf. also 2 *Macc.* i. 19 ff., where the hidden fire of the altar had turned into ' thick water ' (? blackness or smoke), but which when sacrifices were laid on it, ' the sun shone . . . there was a great fire kindled, so that every man wondered.' It may be that the origin of this Feast, like that of Tabernacles, was in a solar cult. See for the latter the ancient invocation of the Sun which is embedded in one of the proper festal readings, 1 Kings viii. 12 ff. On this reading, see especially Thackeray, *Some Aspects of the Greek Old Testament*, 1927, 47 ff.

illustrated by the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal. Whether there is or not such a reaching-back to old and half-forgotten things, the facts of the renewing of Light and the date of its occurrence remain. And the notion of tribal freedom, in its political and ritual aspects, is a meaning of the festival beyond dispute.

This tribal quality of the Feast of Dedication is a matter for as clear recognition as the Jewish endeavours to accompany it with a universalised concept of the tribal god. The festival prayer, which is preserved in the Talmud, exhibits this notable relationship of ideas: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and ordinance to kindle the light of Ḥanukkah. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who workedst wonders for our fathers in the days of old, at this season.' Such a co-partnership of religious ideas would be bound to issue in the extension of a notion of regained political liberty unto the doctrine of the freedom of Israelites as being in a peculiar sense the children of God, the King of the Universe.

The context of the Feast of Dedication is surely demanded by the words of Jesus in this shorn eighth chapter. His claim for Himself, 'I am the Light of the world' (τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου),[1] must have been antithetic to a counter-claim made by His assailants. So also is it necessary to the succeeding anti-

[1] On the alleged cult connexions of this claim see *infra*, p. 108 f.

thetical features of His declaration, which are: first, that the only way of freedom unto manhood is in discipleship to Himself, and, second, that the true God is the Father revealed in Himself, and by belief in whom men become sons of God. For if Jesus had come, and the main motive for His coming was that He should be the revelation of God, then He would have but to express Himself as the antithesis of the ritual connotations of the Feast of Dedication, and to use their own language in the service of His revelation to arrive at the appellative claim: 'I am the Light of the world.' There would be no need for Him to search Hellenism for a cult appellative which would lend Him a claim appropriately contrasted with the Festival doings of the Jews in Chisleu, nor is there any call for a writer with an Ephesian outlook to have integrated Jesus in a sentence which could fall from the lips of the god Glykon: 'I am Glykon, Zeus's beloved, the Light of mankind,' or to invest Him so closely with the chlamys of the prophet Poimandres, who taught how the god he spoke about was Father and Light and Life,[1] that the prophet and his god became identified.

It was the Feast of Dedication which evoked the Revealer and His revelation. There is that splendid naïvete about the declaration of Jesus which sweeps aside these excursions into Hermetic literature. The small local circumstance calls out the great illumi-

[1] Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 1904, 329 ff.; Bauer, 116 f. It is noteworthy that Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore*, xix. 1, sets in contrast the cult usages of *Light* (φῶς) and Jesus' claim by means of this chapter in the Gospel backed with anti-Judaic *testimonia*.

nating utterance. And the writer of the Gospel is seen again to be the recorder and not the creator of this Jesus Christ, when the context of the Feast of Dedication is taken into account. The originality of His attitude and utterance is due solely to the revelation He came to make known. It is high time that we understood that His message was a revelation and how original were its components.

These qualities appear with startling clearness in Jesus' criticism of the object of contemporary Jewish worship. For He said : ' Ye are of your father the devil, and the evil will of your father is yours. He was a murderer from the beginning, and stood not in the truth, because truth was not in him.' By a violent means of interpretation the words of Jesus have been made to refer to Cain, either as the supposed first killer of men or as the alleged father of the Jews.[1] The same kind of wrench has to be given to the words if Adam is to be introduced to an unwonted disguise, because it is said through him sin came into the world. This is a view held by certain famous Patristic commentators : Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodore of Heraclea.[2] Again, the same is done even if a most thin wedge of Zoroastrianism is thrust into the words, even by means of a suggested ' affinity with Persian dualism '

[1] Corderius, *Catena Patrum Graecorum*, 1630, 238 : *πατέρα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καλεῖ τὸν Κάιν* ; cf. Wellhausen, *Erweiterungen und Änderungen im vierten Evangelium*, 1907, 19 ff. ; Bauer, 124. Pallis, 20, considers that the Gospel is fanciful here, because he believes that Jesus is depicted as using a Levantine form of abuse which would include the cursing of your opponent's parents. It is the commentator who is fanciful.

[2] Corderius, 238.

which develops this idea 'analogously with that of the Logos-Christ.'[1] The words of Jesus do not thus yield their meaning.

The devil for Jesus Christ is the embodiment of Jewish ideas and practices. It is he, in the persons of his children, who would kill Him. He has been a man-killer from the beginning because his will is the Deuteronomic law which proclaims death for one who shall preach any god other than that of Israel.[2] This embodiment is that which Jesus put beneath His feet in the experience of the Temptations, and by means of answers which were excerpts from the same law-book transformed by the invasion of His revelation.[3] Another illustration of this same usage is in the incident[4] where Jesus tells His disciples that He must go to Jerusalem and be killed. Peter, through his rebuke of Jesus, seems to assimilate himself with the old Jewish ways of thought; and for Jesus he takes on the sinister lines of the inimical embodiment which was the enemy of Himself and His revelation. This view of what Jesus meant by the devil holds good in other instances of its use in the Gospels. It also lifts from Him the burden of having created a figure of menace to burden men as they strive with ultimate things, and frees the prayer, which all may speak who are trying in any sense to be Christlike, from the strain of reference to such an unwholesome power.

Side by side with the denunciatory qualities of

[1] Loisy, 300.
[2] Deut. xviii. 20.
[3] Burch, 48 f.
[4] Mt. xvi. 21 ff., Mk. viii. 31 ff.

the revelation go its evangelical graces—those energies which are always present to it and in Jesus Christ that men of all sorts may find their way to God. Jesus tells them that Abraham rejoiced to see His day. This was one of His pictorial ways of telling men and women how He and His revelation were timeless. He does this in a number of ways, and always without a touch of abstract statement. The ordinary men and women had to be made to understand Him. Thus the timeless nature of His revelation was bound to be clear to them; and this was never clearer than when He used the alphabet of names for Himself and God which a child might lisp and quickly come to understand.[1]

F.—x. *The Shepherd Discourse*.[2]—The proper psalm for the Feast of Dedication is Ps. xxx.[3] From it can be gained a dominant motif of the discourse of Jesus. It will be recalled how the psalmist drops twice into a theme with a deepening of the minor key: 'O Lord, thou hast brought up my soul from the grave: thou hast kept me alive; that I should not go down to the pit,' and again: 'What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit? Shall the dust praise thee? shall it declare thy truth?' (verses 3 and 9). When we turn to the words of Jesus we find Him declaring a contrasted truth. This contrast takes on a literal dress from the language used by the Jews to clothe their age-

[1] Burch, 55 ff.

[2] Concerning the original order of the verses in Chapter X. see *infra*, p. 196.

[3] *E.g. Ency. Biblica*, i. 1054. The Septuagint heading for the Psalm is: ᾠδὴς τοῦ ἐγκαινίσμου τοῦ οἴκου.

long fears of the tyranny of the place of the dead. The God revealed in Jesus Christ leads all men into eternal life, if they will to believe in Him.[1] These shall never perish, nor anyone snatch them from His hand. And here it is to be noted that ' My hand ' is also ' the Father's hand.' That was one of the big reasons why the Jews tried to stone Him. The Deuteronomic law seems to have been in their nerve-structure. If they had stoned Him then instead of combining later with the Romans to crucify Him, they could not have stayed the conquest of Hades by the Revealer and His revelation. But He passed from their hands because there were other things to do and to say before the cross and their deep darkness came. His light was not to last for three short years and then be put out. He manifested by whom the conquest had been made, and told them by whose light and guidance it was and would be, both in the yesterday and the to-morrow of the ages, they could arise from those several forms of death which assail their bodies and personalities.

These things are said in an idiom to penetrate the minds of His listeners. How familiar that idiom was, and how unfamiliar was the light of truth it had to carry, can be realised in Christ's use of the title Shepherd. That His was an anti-Judaic use is plain from the attitude of many of His listeners. It could not have been otherwise, since He had enrobed himself with a title traditionally given to the

[1] An early Christian poet has expressed this truth in the *Odes of Solomon*, xlii. 19 ff. : ' And I made a flock of living men amongst his (*i.e.* Sheol's) dead men,' etc.

God of Israel. He was also informing a well-known passage in Ezekiel's prophecies [1] with the mutating truth of His own revelation. For where Ezekiel had spoken of the Jahwe of the Jews as the Shepherd, He who manifested God to men took the title for Himself. Instead of the tribal deity shielding Israelites as sheep in a fold from the invasion of other shepherds with foreign cults, Jesus protects His followers from Jewish prophets and teachers.[2] The fold and the rich pasture which were only for Jews become transformed into that fold whose one Door [3] is the Revealer, and whose enfolding walls are as widely set as mankind. Other details of shepherd care for Israel are changed in depth and breadth by becoming the pastoral ways of Jesus Christ with men who will come to the God revealed in Him. Finally, this *Door* is in utter contrast with Solomon's Porch to the Temple.

Once more it must be concluded that the natural way for the understanding of what Jesus says and

[1] xxiv. 10 ff.

[2] x. 8 ff., the verb ἦλθον ' points to Prophets,' as Pallis says. When he goes on to equate it with John the Baptist and his disciples, he makes Jesus to have talked nonsense about the Baptist earlier in the Gospel.

[3] Ignatius of Antioch, *Ep. ad Phil.* ix. almost seizes the meaning of this name for Jesus. It is not quite clear whether he understood Christ's revelational use of matter from the prophets. Cf. Hermas, *Sim.* ix., xii. 6. Pallis, 22, argues that κύριος ought to be read instead of θύρα. He thinks that if the latter is read, the succeeding phrase would have to read that ' all who came before me were doors.' His eye and ear would seem to have lost the sense of the presence of an audience. Jesus is answering all the way along to its ideas and questions. He is not in a modern pulpit. Moreover, the title does not demand that those who had been described as ' thieves and robbers ' should be ' doors ' as well. They enter in by another way than a door ; and ' he that entereth in by the Door is a shepherd ' (verse 2)—a reference to the pastoral qualities of His own disciples.

for the accounting for the effects of His teaching, is to realise the Festival framework. The Festivals do not make Him assume a succession of rôles. Nor do they pass over their ritual values to Him that He might transmute them into a religion of His own. He utilises them for the purpose of demonstrating in a most representative manner the antithetic qualities of Himself and His revelation. We find thus a new means of combating the constant endeavour to bring Jesus Christ into schemes of values which do not belong to Him. He and His revelation are radically anti-cultic. Neither can be said to be understood where the principle is not grasped that both He and it are as subversive of Hellenism as of Judaism. There is then no sort of filiation traceable between Him as Shepherd and Tammuz or Attis.[1] Jesus is not represented in this Gospel as overthrowing Judaism to re-establish an *ism* from Babylonia or Syria. Those filiations explain nothing in person or message. They do the same ancient wrong as is done by attempting to trace His genealogy as teacher to the parentage of Jewish Apocalyptic and cults: He is reduced into other terms than His own. This same process is at work when Jesus is equated with the pastoral *Nous* which, in the *Hermetica*, is said to be the shepherd of men or *Poimandres*.[2] This ghostly enswathement from Hellenism neither

[1] Cf. *e.g.* Bauer, 138 f.; Carpenter, 277 ff. See how with Naassene and Phrygian cult ideas are woven together Attis and John x.: Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, v. 8 (34) ff. The Mandaean parallels adduced by Bultmann and Bauer are met by the criticism of the second chapter in this book.

[2] Reitzenstein, 115 ff.

fits nor explains Him, any more than that from Philonism, whence equally insubstantial robes are borrowed from Philo's conception of the *Logos* as the shepherd of men's souls.[1] Philo is making Jahwe speak Greek where he does not cause the *Logos* to speak Hebrew. In his writings Chrysippus can be made to look as if he had written the *Wisdom of Solomon* or *Sirach*. But in the Fourth Gospel it is most doubtful that its writer had thought of even applying the name *Logos* to Jesus Christ after that he had used the name for Him in his Prologue. And there the name is neither Chrysippean nor Sapiential, but it is a name from excerpts in Jewish writings which both have been connotatively changed by subjection to Jesus and the mode of His revelation.

All such unhistorical ways with Jesus Christ, and especially of Him as He is portrayed in the tenth chapter of this Gospel, fail to interpret Him and His teaching. When, however, He is seen in contrast with the ideas and site of the Feast of Dedication, then He and His words can be understood even to be roots of their impulses.[2]

G.—xi. 47-54. *Jesus and Caiaphas*.—The Caiaphas

[1] Philo, *De Posteritate Caini*, 68 ; *De Mutatione Nominum*, 116 ; *De Agricultura*, 51.

[2] The symbolical treatment of this chapter is another of these unhistorical ways. For instance, Muirhead, *The Message of the Fourth Gospel*, 1925, 136, makes even the phrase ' it was winter ' to look as if it had been written by Thomas Hardy. ' He (*i.e.* Jesus) could make warmth even in winter for simply responsive souls like the cured blind man, but official Judaism, held in the deadly frost of custom and prejudice. . . . It is the dreariness of winter, the hopelessness of death.' It is rather that this method is the wintertide of exegesis.

incident is commonly treated as a piece of imaginative work on the part of the Evangelist, who is bent on making sure that atoning efficacy shall be found in the death of Jesus Christ. Such an opinion comes not so much from the incident, but from a view held concerning the Gospel in which it is to be found. Where the Gospel is held to be a late document and to be informed with Paulinism, there it is easy to conclude that the incident was meant to lead on to a theologically conceived crucifixion. It must be urged once more that neither of these opinions of the Gospel is any more worthy of acceptation. The original Gospel is most early, and has no mark from Paul in its pages. And there are fresh reasons why the Caiaphas episode should be looked upon as being historic.

The great reason why the Jews sought to kill Jesus Christ is plainly written in the Gospels, if their pages are read with minds free from the necessity to find Him depicted in a theological or ritual sense. It is His revelation and Himself as Revealer which must be ended. These are the menaces to the Jewish religion: 'If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him.' This motif is not one that appears first in the Caiaphas story: it is present from the beginning of the ministry of Jesus. For the devout Jew it was a solemn duty that He should be put to death. The ancient laws of their nation were as alive for them in the first century of our era as in the time when they were first formed into a code. Consideration of the Roman side of this process

towards a sentence of death often causes us to overlook its primary religious factor, which is that the Revealer would have to die if the Jews were obedient to the Deuteronomic law. Then afterwards, as the Caiaphas episode and the Slavonic *Jewish War*[1] point out, the Romans come into the matter because many Jewish people had construed the revelation of Jesus into a political movement for their freedom from the yoke of the conquerors. For Jews to turn from their ancestral faith was to commit grievous sin. Therefore there were two big religious reasons why the case of Jesus should occupy the legal attention of the Jewish leaders: the revelation of a God other than Jahwe and the removal of guilt from Jews who in any sense had given heed to such teaching.

Caiaphas was moved by venerable pieties when he told, in the manner of a prophet who was in the Aaronic line,[2] that Jesus should die in behalf of the nation and the regathering of the children of Jahwe *into one Synagogue*.[3] When again the high priest is seen to be facing this dual religious problem which Jesus was, it is most necessary to remember that he is doing so either in the time of or with memories of the Day of Atonement.

According to the ancient ritual the victim for that Day was a goat upon whose head was put all the iniquities of the children of Israel. This animal was

[1] At ii. 9. 3.

[2] *E.g.* Ex. vii. 1 ; cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* vi. 6. 3, 8. 9 ; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8.

[3] This is the order of the words for xi. 52 in *D* and the Old Latin codices, *a* and *e*. It is that which alone gives the original sense of the words.

taken without the camp by the hand of an appointed man.[1] The high priest would, of course, know the ritual laws. His inspiration was that Jesus should play the part of the Scapegoat. Thus the religious and synagogal unity of Israel would be assured by a sufficient Sin-offering, and the teaching of a strange god would die out with the teacher.

There seems no reason to suppose that a friendly Roman might have suggested this escape, by a brilliant little bit of theriomorphic reasoning, from what was a religious problem to the Jews and a governmental problem to the Romans, since there was no political problem in Jesus. The Slavonic *Jewish War* tells us that He ' was neither a rebel nor a striver after political power,' and the Gospels agree with Josephus. Moreover, it is not proven that the Romans made use of a human scapegoat in their religion.[2] This imaginary Roman counsellor demands no place in the creation of the Caiaphas incident, and for two good reasons: he was not politically troubled, nor was he religiously interested to experiment in the romanisation of Jewish ritual. The serious religious reasons for making Jesus the Scapegoat and the Sin-offering for Israel arose solely and naturally in the mind of the religious leader of the Jews.

That such a conclusion as Caiaphas' was reached by the Israelites is manifest from the Epistle to the

[1] Lev. xvi. 21 ff.

[2] Frazer, *The Scape Goat*, 1913, 229 ff., has conjectured this from Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iii. 29 and iv. 36; cf. Burch, *Myth and Constantine the Great*, 1927, 63 ff.

Hebrews. For as its writer comes towards its close he has occasion to mention sin-offerings, and he concludes: 'Wherefore Jesus, that he might make the people ritually holy through his own blood, suffered without the camp.[1] Let us therefore go forth unto him without the camp bearing his shame.' The first of those two verses is history and not soteriology, whilst the second is an actual part of the demands of discipleship to Jesus Christ. The literal basis of the first verse is the ritual law in Leviticus concerning the Scapegoat. Caiaphas took that law, as we have seen, and made Jesus to become the Sin-offering for a ritually unholy Israel. But the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews takes on the Caiaphas incident to its true historical issue: the Jews conceived of Jesus as the Scapegoat and put Him without the camp, but the ritual efficacy of their deed was not for themselves but for His people. This writer, then, is not setting down a piece of the mosaic-work which shall compose with other pieces a doctrine of sanctification, but he is writing a piece of the history of Jesus. Thus the verb ἁγιάσῃ[2] must find its meaning in that historical context; and the writer's intention in the group of verses, in which it occurs, will be found to be governed by his sense of the antithetic qualities of the revelation of Jesus which pervades the Epistle. He vindicates the facts

[1] Heb. xiii. 12 read παρεμβολῆς with some Greek cursives and the Peshhito version. The group of verses thus reads somewhat monotonously, but the writer's historical point is made.

[2] Cf. the prayer of confession for usage on the Day of Atonement: *Yoma* 6. 2.

of the legal and ritual counsel of Caiaphas, but he overthrows the prophetical subtlety of the high priest of Judaism.

The Caiaphas episode derives its historic affirmations from its temporal context, which is that of the Day of Atonement.

H. — xi. 54–xii. 1-50. *Jesus and some pre-Passover Events.* — The fifty-fourth verse of the eleventh chapter ought to stand by itself as marking a period of silence for Jesus, in the progress of the Fourth Gospel, between the Caiaphas incident and the pre-Passover days. Most commentators either desire to find little or no space of time between the hour of Caiaphas' counsel and the events narrated in chapter twelve, or desire to excise the possibility of the search for a calm retreat from the Jews. This hastening of Time's chariot-wheels comes from the Synoptic approach to the study of the Gospel. And the extruding of a time of peace for Jesus, by means of the theory that the writer of this Gospel had tried to force into his text somewhere a reference to an experience in the wilderness, has its motive in the plea that the other Evangelists had put it at the beginning of Christ's public life.[1] Neither the slurring of time nor the doubting of the record is called for when we have understood that the Caiaphas episode is a historical one. There was grave need for Jesus to retire into the quiet when, at last, the Jewish opposition to Him was thus headed by the high priest. And the Gospel narrative demands

[1] *e.g.* Loisy, 359.

that this withdrawal should take place not long after the Day of Atonement. Thus between verses fifty-four and fifty-five, which says ' Now the Passover of the Jews was at hand ' was a space of about six months. As to the place of His retirement, the circumstantial evidence of *Codex Bezae* is credible, which adds a geographical term to the statement in the received text: ' He departed into the province of Ephraim,[1] near to the wilderness, into the town called Ephraim.' This town was about five miles to the north-east of Bethel,[2] and in a wild region.

That Jesus was hidden from the Jews is a fact which shows itself with artlessness in verses fifty-six and fifty-seven. The enquiries if He will come and the sense of the Caiaphas counsel being in the air are conveyed in the way which only Truth knows. Therefore, this fifty-fourth verse should be given prominence in the text of the Gospel as being a kind of temporal rubric. It stands apart from the Caiaphas incident which it follows, and as well from the pre-Passover matter which it precedes. But it is a very important divider of the Day of Atonement made famous by Caiaphas from the last Passover into which Jesus brought judgment by His Person and revelation.

Jesus comes from His retirement and reaches

[1] ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν χώραν Σαμφουρειν, which on its Latin side is rendered: ' abiit in regionum Sapfurim.' The latter is a poor transliteration of the former name. Σαμφουρειν is an equally poor transliteration of the Aramaic phrase ' by name Ephraim,' since the first portion of the provincial name Σαμ is שֵׁם.

[2] Bauer, 152.

Bethany some six days before the Passover. He went away from His three friends into the wilderness: He returns thence to their home. There is little reason in the suggestion that the variant appears in this chapter—the house of Lazarus for the house of Simon the leper, which is affected by Matthew and Mark; and the house of a Pharisee by Luke—because the writer was eager to link up the raising of Lazarus with the Synoptic account of the final Passover.[1] But the house of Lazarus is a more natural *locale* for a Mary's deed of anointing than any other house. We may lose a certain beautiful romanticism by concluding that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, rather than Mary Magdalene broke the box of spikenard over the feet of Jesus, but we may gain the likelihood of truth. Further, when the other Gospels are turned to it is manifest that quite another incident and time are in what is claimed to be this Gospel's exemplary episode.

Luke has their story rightly both as to time and contents. His version is in the seventh chapter of his Gospel, whilst Matthew and Mark have put theirs in the time of the last Passover. Luke preserves the points of Pharisaical criticism of the waste of ointment by the woman who was a sinner. He also tells about her penitential tears which, like her kisses, were poured on Christ's feet. Matthew and Mark omit the criticism and the penitence of gratitude. Jesus' fine and adroit defence of the woman's generosity, by means of a counter-criticism of the

[1] Heitmüller, *Das Johannes-Evangelium*, 1918, 134; cf. Bauer, 153.

Pharisee's treatment of Himself as if He had been an outcast, is also lost by them. And that is one of the foci of the story. Matthew and Mark have either followed a later tradition than Luke, or have deliberately dropped the essentials of the incident to conform it with the time and details of Christ's visit to the house of Lazarus. Even the lesson, which in Luke comes spontaneously from the tiny parable and the criticism and the woman's deed, has been overcharged with hortatory colour—and especially in Mark's account.

For these reasons we may find that Christ's stopping at Bethany, whilst on His way to Jerusalem, is an event of simple and human beauty. The sister of the man He had called back from the place of the dead prepares Him for His own burial. Like the rubrical verse just above this incident, it does not 'awkwardly split the narrative concerned with Jesus' entry into Jerusalem.'[1] When the Jews were wondering in these pre-Passover days what Jesus would do, He was coming from His retreat, and some gentle hands were ministering unto Him. Nor is there any ground for stating that the incident is not only an unskilful interpolation, but also that its interpolator was an ignorant misunderstander of Matthew and Mark. This last charge is made against the Fourth Gospel in the belief that it says in verse five that the anointing had taken place and in verse seven that the ointment was being saved for the burying of Jesus. A glance at the text will show

[1] Pallis, 27, says that it breaks up the incident.

that there is in it no such interpolative folly. Jesus answers him who had the bag that the many give alms, but this woman had saved hers to do for Him now more than money could accomplish.

This incident and the pencilled-in account of the refluent interest of the Jews in Jesus and Lazarus are in the texture of the story of His last days. We tear them thence with irreparable injury to that story. So also do we reduce Jesus and the incident to an evanescence, too diaphanous to carry even the scent of the spikenard, when we say that the Evangelist set Mary here to be the symbol of the Gentile Church pouring the perfume of a universal Gospel over the feet of Jesus.[1]

There are two motives in the mind of the crowd which welcomes Jesus in the streets of Jerusalem. One of these is frankly expressed in verses seventeen and eighteen. The Jews who had seen what He had done for Lazarus had borne witness to Him; therefore the multitude went and met Him because of His reputation as a worker of wonders.[2] The other motive has not yet been realised, though it is expressed in the cry of the crowd: 'Hosanna: blessed is one coming in the name of the Lord,[3] the King of Israel.' The equation of these words with Ps. cviii. 26 both hides that motive, and either cuts

[1] Grill, ii. 22; Loisy, 363. Such a symbol could only be based on the heavy moral in Matthew and Mark, and then it would distort their moral.

[2] In verse 17 *οὖν* should be omitted. It is a scribal link which had been added as a consequence of the interpolation in verses fourteen to sixteen. See *infra*, p. 192 f.

[3] Omit here *καὶ* with cod. *D* and *K* and the Sahidic version.

off the closing part of the cry altogether or so as to make it a second cry with a Messianic intent. What the Jewish multitude had in mind was the response to the prayer on the day of Atonement; for when the ineffable name in that prayer was mentioned both priests and people said: 'Blessed is the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever.'[1] The Caiaphas incident is in their minds, but with the naïvete of children they have removed the sinister rôle of the Scapegoat assigned to Jesus, and have left Him the part of a living answer to the high priest's design, that He should re-establish the Kingdom and Synagogue of Israel. They have changed the response merely from the impersonal terms which are fitting for Jahwe to personal terms which can cluster about his delegate. It has to be remembered that those enthusiastic Jews were not disciples of Jesus. For a few passing hours only they were blunting the sharp edge of the design of their religious leaders. Hence the chagrin of the Pharisees in verse nineteen: 'Ye see, we prevail nothing: lo, the world is gone after him.' The incident is wholly Jewish. The waving branches and the naïve turning of their leaders' intrigue unto

[1] *Yoma* 6. 2. To the simple Johannine record, Mark xi. 10 adds a gloss-like cry, 'Blessed is the Kingdom that cometh, the Kingdom of our father David: Hosanna in the highest,' which quite clearly preserves the meaning put into the people's greeting of Jesus. It will be seen how closely it follows the Atonement Prayer. And its accompanying 'Hosanna' shows how the cry has been filled out with a part of the song for the birth of Christ. The Markan version of this incident in His life is a literary version. For the cult significance of *Hosanna*, see *Targum* 2, *Esther* iii. 8, where it is a bower-like gathering of branches. On the cult collocation of the name Φῶτα and branches and clothes, cf. Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 49.

death into a popular sense of religious triumph do but more deeply impress on it that character. Jesus knew this, as the succeeding episode in the chapter deftly shows. One feature of its predecessor which may not be missed, if we would understand Jesus, is that He has not nor could have any part in Jewish Messianism. This was so not because the incident of the multitude's spiritual reversal of Caiaphas' prophecy comes in a document steeped in the Hellenic spirit, but because it is how a true history of Him and His revelation would have to depict, if it would exhibit, Him as living and using His own terms.

The Jews were either determining that He should be their racial Scapegoat or were imagining that He was the embodied response to their racial aspirations in the prayer over the Sin-offering on the Day of Atonement; but the Greeks, in the persons of a small band, were seeking after Him. The larger Near Asian world was coming out from its varied indigenous and Jewish [1] manners of cult to take up discipleship with Him. This small band of Greeks was a sheaf from the harvest-fields of the world. The golden glory of those fields, it might be said, mingles with the darkness of the death which still the old world's practices and ideas in religion would force upon Him. But it must not be thought that Jesus' words, 'Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit' (xii. 24), manifest that such a vision of harvest was moving Him to utter

[1] Cf. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3.

them. Much less could they mean that the Evangelist had given a suppositious saying of Jesus some turns of speech or idea either from the Mystery of Demeter [1] or from Stoicism,[2] as if either should lend a little necessary local colour in a narrative that spoke of Near Asian Greeks. The thought of Jesus is at first more with those who reject than with them who receive Him. It springs naturally from their pre-occupation with ancestral cults. On the second day of Passover the sheaf was offered to Jahwe in the cause of fertility and in behalf of the maintenance of the communal well-being of Israel.[3] The eyes of the Jews are turned towards themselves and the upkeep of their own social community: the eyes of Jesus are turned towards mankind. He would die at their hands, but even His death is a contribuant to the revelation of life for men. This realisation lends its moral beauty to the command to His disciples that in this matter, and according to their measure, they must also become as this wheat for the world of men. They do so as they follow Him, because thus the ancestral social and religious limits in religion fall away; and the disciples to the Lord of Life vitally portray, in their service, the aims of and energies in His revelation for the world of human beings.

[1] Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, 446 ff.; note especially its picture of the Rharion plain without corn because Demeter had hidden the seed, and the fields heavy with sheaves after that the goddess had released the grain.

[2] Bauer, 157, cites Epictetus iv. 8. 35-36.

[3] Josephus, *Antiquities*, iii. 10. 5; see Gray, 326 ff. on the Mishnah tradition.

When He as Revealer was affirmed by God, the Voice was for the sake of men and women who persisted in the dark ways of the old world. They might cling to their cults with their ethical results in deadness for human personality, but already He had overthrown such schemes of religion. His language, though sharp-cut in the received text of this Gospel, had not keen enough edge. In verse thirty-one it reads: 'Now shall the prince of this world be cast out.' Jesus gathers up all the old world's practices and ideas of religion in an embodiment, the prince of this world, and hurls him down. That is Jesus' own way, as we have already found, of expressing the judgment of His revelation and the executive powers of Himself as Revealer upon the antithetical religions of the ancient world.[1] It must be remembered that Greeks were present, and were bringing to Him the solace of universal conquest. Therefore a more vivid piece of portraiture of such an embodiment, as is spoken about in the received text of John, is to be found in Luke (x. 18) and in a context which shows that it has been unsuitably put there. The Third Gospel then renders the judgment thus: 'I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven.' The exact fitness of the terms to an instance of the turning of Greeks to Jesus Christ and His teaching is to be seen at once. For we should recall the fact that in Palestine and Syria, and

[1] It will be unwise for any to conclude that therefore the revelation of Jesus has no concern with or value for the religious thought and practice of the modern world. When His teaching is really understood, it will be found that its applicability is for ever.

along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean, Hadad the lightning-god was worshipped, and that Greeks paired him with Zeus the light-god.[1]

It would be an insensitive handling of the rest of this incident to trace Jesus' references, to light in Him and darkness in men,[2] to the influence of thoughts concerning the ancient light-gods. His audience was composed of Jews for the greatest part; therefore He would be speaking to them. And His language in taking on this general character would endeavour to lead their thoughts to the contrast between the religion they practised and His in which God was manifested who is the Life and Light of men.

Once again, however, the Passover context of this incident makes itself felt in the language and thought of Jesus. At this period in the Jewish year Jahwe is said to exercise judgment in the world ' in respect of the produce of the fields.'[3] Jesus declares that His revelation, in which God is manifest, is and shall be judgment and Judge of men. The communal and fertility ambit of the religion round about Him is exposed by the declaring of the revelation, which to follow is life for human beings. The judgments of Jesus are not judicial—they are always avenues unto spiritual liberty and enrichment for us, since they expose chiefly the things which imprison every power we possess.

[1] Cf. Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 31; and Garstang in Strong, *The Syrian Goddess*, 1913, 5 ff., on the Hittite lightning-god whom Lucian calls Zeus.

[2] On verses 16 and 36b-41, see *infra*, p. 192 f. In the opening phrase of verse 44 πάλιν should be added.

[3] Surenhusius, *ad loc.*

I.—xiii., xviii., xix. *Some Passover Incidents.*—The incidents which are told in chapters thirteen, eighteen and nineteen [1] do not exhibit the impulsive influences of a festival context, save in the first of the group. These are sufficient reasons why their capital features should now be analysed, since it is alleged by certain authorities that the details of the final scenes in the life of Jesus Christ are governed by their imitation of or creation from the details of some prominent pagan cults. In these the Roman would have superseded the Palestinian cult influence in the earlier chapters of the Gospel. This present investigation already shows that, instead of Jesus being the creation of Palestinian cults, He is their abrogator both in His being as Revealer and in His teaching. It may well be that Rome plays as negligible a part in the creation of a portion of the story and facts of His life. Before that problem is reached, the main features of chapter thirteen have to be examined.

This chapter is divided between the incidents of Judas and the washing of the disciple's feet. The betrayal is history. The betrayer becomes a most fallible but historical human being in light of our findings. He is not now the instrument of a dreadful divine fore-ordination: an automaton to fulfil an Old Testament prophecy.[2] The Satan which comes to possess him is not God's evil and quasi-immortal

[1] On the interpolated matter in this chapter see *infra*, p. 190. See also *infra*, p. 180 ff. concerning the seventeenth chapter.

[2] Concerning verses 18c and 19 see *infra*, p. 194.

opponent, but the embodiment of ancient religious ideas and practices. For Christianity ought not to have allowed that opponent one moment's sway over its thought. Jesus, and His earliest messengers by His example, realised the human possibility of going back from the new to the old way. The reassertion of the hold of the ancestral faith was the cardinal danger of first-century Christianity. Judas proved that. And his awful deed served to give a fresh solemnity to the going back into death from life, when a disciple fell away into the ancient cults — for he could be said to have crucified once more the Son of God.

The shadows of that human tragedy in discipleship are set in contrast with the beauty of the active ethic of discipleship. The two types of incident have their immortal message for us. The former abides as the darkness into which any man in every age can will to put himself; whilst the latter abides as the standard of behaviour unto which Jesus Christ wills us to attain. Such attainment will always mean life for men. Both why and how must now be sought.

To reach those reasons it will be found necessary to put aside the symbolical treatment of the narrative of washing the disciples' feet. That method is too subtle and ingenious to suit the story. Moreover, it has been created to interpret what a *Logos-Christ*, and not Jesus Christ, would do. It is only such a *Christ* who could fill an act of gentleness towards a guest, which was usually performed by a

slave, with eucharistic and baptismal meanings.[1] The historic Jesus Christ could, on the other hand, take the name of the Slave and do a slave's work in behalf of His revelation. This is what the incident candidly tells us. Jesus is actively showing to His disciples an ethic of discipleship. That is Service—a term which has to be greatened so that it can mean Christian Service, and then it will summarise what Jesus desires His disciples to learn. And here the Festival context of this incident presses on our attention the reason for and the significance of this deed of Jesus the Slave.

On the festal day of Unleavened Bread the Jews turned their thoughts to the birth of Isaac.[2] The details of his birth-story belong to the *memoria technica* of their religion. If now the eighteenth chapter of the Book of Genesis is turned to, which is one of the main sources of those details, Abraham will be found to be host to a theophany of Jahwe come to announce that Isaac should be born. And Abraham bowed himself to the earth before the appearance, and said: 'O Lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant: let now a little water be fetched, and wash your feet' (xviii. 2 ff.). The slave is here made to wash the feet of the divine appearance. For the narrative does not permit us to conclude that Abraham did the lowly task. Jesus, one of

[1] *E.g.* Loisy, 386 ff.; Bauer, 166 ff. This view seems to be rather an enlargement of a piece of rhetoric by Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 12, than an endeavour to interpret the Gospel.

[2] *E.g. Book of Jubilees*, xvii. 15, xviii. 19.

whose names was the Slave, washed His servants' feet. He, in whom God was revealed, showed that it was God's way to be and to do even in His lowliest manner of service. Jesus Christ does not act the part of a bigger Abraham, just as he did not act the part of another Isaac in the crucifixion. There was no compulsion upon Him that He should attempt to surpass the patriarch. But He could not stay Himself from surpassing the deeds of Abraham, because of their place among the venerated matters of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. His revelation would have been bound to show itself; and in showing its mind concerning Service, it unveils God.[1] We could not have known, except Jesus had come to tell and to show us, that God can be the Ineffable Slave of life unto men and women. Christian Service is to follow that example.

It is, then, a needless matter to argue that Jesus is not here consciously endeavouring to remodel ethically a Jewish incident, nor that an Evangelist is consciously essaying to transmute the values of Abraham into Jesus as the Servant of the Lord who is possessed by the *Sophia* or the *Logos*.[2] By the first of these means we should lose the

[1] How distant Philo is from the language and ideas of the Fourth Gospel can be seen, for instance, if this incident is compared especially with his *De Abrahamo*, 119 ff.

[2] Cf. *Wisdom of Solomon*, 11. 13, x. 16. Concerning the first of these illustrative passages, see Cyprianic *Testimonia*, ii. 14; Hippolytus, *Demonstratio adversus Judaeos*, ix.-x.; Eusebius, *Eclogae Propheticae*, iv. 2; *Demonstratio Evang.* xi. 36. These authorities confirm that the name Slave should be put among those most early names for Jesus which He used to convey the meanings of Himself and His revelation to simple men and women.

message of the incident, and by the second the Messenger.

Now after certain interpolations have been removed from the text of chapters eighteen and nineteen,[1] the historical narrative of the trials and death of Jesus remains. On the first of these chapters the Passover context has no influence—in the sense that it inspires Jesus to present any of the great contrastive things of His teaching. Two features in this chapter, however, request that their anti-Judaic, or anti-cultic, nature should be emphasised. With Jesus' words: 'My kingdom is not of this world,' we should notice, as it were, how His calm eyes look round alike on Jews and Romans. Neither He nor His kingdom could be of 'this world' of religious ideas and practices represented by them. That represents His meaning for the phrase everywhere. And there are few matters so needful of renovation in Christian thought as 'this world,' which up to the present is used in a manner that denies to Jesus Christ the hope of enthronement in a world where men and women have to live and think.

The second feature concerns the use of the title King (xviii. 37 ff.). It is evident that Pilate does not understand Jesus' idea of a Kingdom.[2] For his question, 'Art thou a King?' shows that he has in mind the formal concept. It is altogether superfluous to make an hypothesis, that Jesus was an

[1] See *infra*, pp. 190 and 194.

[2] Pilate comprehends nothing of what Jesus here says. This comes out very clearly in his following question: Τί ἐστιν ἀλήθεια, where the verb has the force of 'the meaning of'; cf. Pallis, 41.

intriguer against the Roman government, to account for Pilate's use of the title either at this or a later moment in the trial. To the same degree it is impossible that He could have assumed the title and have consented that it had a Messianic content. His revelation would not allow of such a *volte face*. And even if it had to be supposed that the writer of the Fourth Gospel had created the figure of the Revealer, it would not be right to go on to suppose that he would conclude his Gospel, with its lucid declaration of the Revealer's anti-cultism, by causing Him to contravene the very cause of His being brought to the bar of Pilate. Jesus did call Himself the Christ, the Anointed One. And the Jews added the title King to that name, thus: the Anointed King.[1] This easy perversion became the succinct charge of conspiracy against Rome. He wore a crown of thorns before He went to the cross, since one of His names, by which He would have wooed men unto the true God, was changed so that it assured His becoming the Scapegoat for the Jews. But in His reply to them and to Pilate Jesus made more certain the conquest of the Anointed One over men: 'To this end have I been born that I should bear witness unto the Truth.'

The details of the nineteenth chapter are not shaped at all, except in a calendrical way, by the features of the later Passover days. This influence of the Jewish calendar, however, is the sure rebutment of the attempts which have been made to trace

[1] Cf. Luke xxiii. 2; and on the name Christ, Burch, 94 f.

the details of the treatment of Jesus by the Roman legionaries and His crucifixion to structural filiation with certain cults. Jesus as the King of a Roman Saturnalia [1] or the fertility King of the Sacaean rites [2] are subjects which have caused learned disquisition, but no interpretative help for the text of the New Testament. Both the vital factors of those cults and the Jewish ritual calendar are against the possibility of identification with the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The historic motive alone can account for what was done by Romans and Jews. The Revealer and His revelation made the central pretext for His death. In its accomplishment Caiaphas hoped to realise that Sin-offering which should cleanse Israel and make her marred loyalties become again 'one Synagogue.' Rome, in the person of Pilate, had no care for a Jewish ritual revival. Therefore a capital charge could only be framed by misusing the people's spiritual interpretation of Caiaphas' counsel and a name Jesus gave Himself by which to reveal God to men. He died because these motives made a clamorous charge in the court of a Roman who was of the same moral stuff as Gallio. The Talmud says that this was an ignominious death. Apocalypticism in Christian thought agrees—though not with the ribald language of the Talmud. This strange harmony in judgment variantly misses the central significance of His death. The 'one Synagogue' was not realised;

[1] Wendland, *Hermes*, 1898, 175 ff.

[2] Frazer, *The Scape Goat*, 1913, 412 ff.

but the 'one Body of Christ' in which there is neither Jew nor Greek was shown forth, and how it is being realised in Time and the Timeless. Jesus Christ revealed *God* to men. God and His revelation are for ever. Their kinetic presence means, and will always mean, the radical judgment and overthrow of what the ancient world—that persistent contemporary of later mankind—thought and practised in religion.

IV

CERTAIN INCIDENTS AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE REVELATION OF JESUS CHRIST

FOUR prominent sections of the text of this Gospel seem to stand away from those we have examined. The Festivals have no part in them. They occur between the dates on the Jewish Festal Calendar. And though they bear those notes of time and locality which enable us to see when and where they came in the public life of Jesus, they do not present as clearly, it would seem from the work of many commentators, why preference should have been given to them over other incidents. The reason for their place in the Gospel must be found, since, from all the tests which literary criticism can bring to bear on them, they issue as being a part of the textual unity of the original document. A more serious reason, then, for their presence is demanded than the quality of raising wonder in the reader concerning the Wonder-worker. Such a reason disappears with the removal of the Alexandrian or Logos-Christ from the pages of the Gospel. The Evangelist had not to turn to Lucian[1] or

[1] Cf. Scott, *American Journal of Theology*, 1916, 345 ff., and by the thesis of his earlier book on the Fourth Gospel, this writer is one of the most thorough remakers of Christ in *Logos* terms.

Philo[1] as literary exemplars which he would surpass. He had only to narrate the story of the historic Christ; and thence came the reason which was large enough to single out these four incidents for record.

A. — iv. *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman.* — When this incident is given ritual or theological values its significance eludes the commentators. For to find baptismal symbolism in it means that the passage is to be dated later than Ignatius of Antioch, both as an effort in interpretation and as a dateable feature in institutional thought. Moreover, the local influence in chapter four, towards carrying the baptismal idea at all into the incident, has to be removed, since its first two verses form an interpolation.[2] With them away, it becomes inexplicable why any should have thought it an essay towards light for the passage to invade it with baptismal values.[3]

The same doubt arises concerning those who have filled the chapter with anachronous theological values. The very texture of Jesus' thought is hurt when His sayings concerning the Father are treated as if an Ephesian writer was here crowning Paul's singular statement:[4] 'And when all things have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all.' The Fourth Gospel is not anywhere ordered theological thought,

[1] *E.g. De Fuga*, 109 ff.; cf. *Wisdom of Solomon* xviii. 24—where is the concept of the *Logos* clothed in the robe of the Cosmos.

[2] See *supra*, p. 70 ff. [3] Cf. Loisy, 178 ff. [4] 1 Cor. xv. 28.

which has a base in the intuitive flashes of 1 Corinthians. This hurt is a dual one. For the incident is neither a part nor the whole of the evidence that a final shift in Christian thought has been made—from Jesus the Galilean to the Heavenly Christ and at last to the Father. And Paul did not write, in a moment of clear sight, that Patrocentricism would be the final stage of Christianity. Both the Evangelist and he wrote a much simpler thing than this, and without collaboration. We have to find the way and the motives of their simplicity.

These will be discoverable by a fresh valuation of the chief terms in the narrative—such as those which concern water or Spirit or the Father. The first condition of such an approach is to recognise that Jesus is talking with a Samaritan woman. Jewish things are valueless with her: even Jewish things transfigured by Jesus' method of revelation, except they can reach the roots of her Samaritan beliefs. It would have been a waste of time for Him to speak to her in language which could have meaning only in the context of a Jewish festival, and which could not transcend that context. Jesus was not a Rabbi; and as He always transcended the Jewish day, and the ideas of that day on which He spoke, so also had His message the same transcending quality over the woman's Samaritanism. To surpass religious ideas and practices in Christ's manner is to abrogate them in God's truthful way.

A second condition is to notice that Jesus is thirsty, and the woman comes to draw water. It is most

fantastic to find traces of Jewish or Samaritan Folk-lore in the human need for drinking water. Nor is there any place here for Samaritan ritual demands concerning cleansing.[1] To be thirsty is a human and universal condition, which demands no nicety of choice as to cult filiation that it may be understood. Thus, too, the movement of Jesus' thought is quite natural, from water which the domestic mind of the Samaritan knew all about to the water of which He alone knew and taught. The source of Jesus' expression, 'a well of water springing up unto eternal life' (iv. 14), is the same as for His analogous expression when preaching at the Feast of Tabernacles.[2] This water is alive in a man as he believes in Jesus. At the Feast of Tabernacles the *Sword* of His revelation had to do all of its work for God: here, on the well-side and in conversation with a Samaritan woman, the revelation had to be offered to her with the same simplicity as she would lend her pitcher of water to Him. She did not know that He was regally using a piece from Isaiah

[1] To do that with the narrative is as queer an exercise as to find in the reference to the woman's five husbands the symbol of the five books of the Pentateuch or the five gods that Shalmaneser brought into Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 30).

[2] See *supra*, p. 81 ff. Cf. the *testimonium* (Jer. ii. 12-13) in Barnabas, *Ep.* xi. 2, where it is used for the water of baptism and against Jewish circumcision. But that is not its earliest use, as John iv. 14 and the Cyprianic *Testimonia* i. 3 show. This usage demonstrates the Jews' rejection of Water as the revelation of Christ. This double use of the *testimonium* is attested by Justin, *Trypho*, xiv. 1, xix. 2 (baptism); cxiv. 5, cxl. 1 (revelation). The first of the latter passages is an important one for the determination of the source of Jesus' expression, since there Jer. ii. 13 follows on the immediately precedent use of Is. xxviii. 16. Justin quotes it as Jesus used it in John vii. 37 ff.; and there it is made to describe His revelation in terms of 'living water.' This no doubt was the duty Jer. ii. 13 served in its earliest use.

to woo her unto belief in the revelation, but she grasped the meaning of His 'living water.' There can be no doubt that Ignatius of Antioch, for instance, grasped the meaning of Jesus' teaching in the same manner as she, when he desires 'only water that lives and springs up in me, and says from within me, "Come hither to the Father."'[1] That is just what Jesus meant when He spoke about the upwelling water He could give to the Samaritan woman. Our next enquiry must concern His use of the name 'Father.'

It ought to be clear to us that Jesus' use, and even that of Ignatius, is not the conventional one which we through our theologies find in the term. They and we persist in viewing the term as that which has to be defined as a category of divine being; whilst Jesus uses it as a fundamental in revelation. To find the manner of His usage, we should note first that the narrative does not yield to the most careful test any sign that it represents a stage in the metamorphosis of Jesus and His thought—that is, from a *Sophia* to a *Logos* stage. The claim, as we have seen, has been made that the Gospel (and particularly its Prologue) is the expression of such a process of orientation. Jesus Christ is here not another or greater Jesus the son of Sirach. The pages of *Ecclesiasticus* show that the latter called upon 'the Lord, the Father of my Lord.'[2] Now

[1] *Ep. ad Rom.* vii., reading ἀλλόμενον with its longer recension and with Lightfoot.

[2] li. 10. For the view that Jahwe was the Father of Jesus, see Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, 1906, 92 ff.

the burden of his book exhibits that this Lord is the half-person and half-abstraction, the *Sophia*; and that the Father of whom he writes is the deity of Israel. Sirach has written the philosophy of Israel's religion in the terms of the *Sophia*. Philo in turn rewrote that philosophy in the terms of the *Logos*. Jesus was not almost concurrently re-speaking that philosophy in the terms of the *Sophia-Logos*. His 'living water' began and is to be understood first on a lowly level of thought; so also the thought of His 'Father' begins much more humbly than with any such alien Christological effort. He meets the Samaritan woman on her level. It is not on Garizim, He says, that the Father will be worshipped. He first speaks a religious idea as familiar to her as the mountain which was the seat of the Samaritan deity. And then He leads the conversation to the things He would have her learn. Not all of what He said to her is recorded—a like omission appears again in what He says to His disciples. But the leading notes have been kept. And the Father He shows to her is One who is found 'in (the) Spirit and in (the) Truth.' When those two terms are translated 'in spirit and in truth' they become abstract. If, however, a capital letter is put to each of them, they become names for Jesus. The Father's search and Jesus' are one: the search for those who will worship Him through Jesus the Spirit and the Truth.[1] Therefore when the Greek reads: Πνεῦμα

[1] On verse twenty-two see *infra*, p. 193.

ὁ θεός, it is plain that Spirit is a name for God. The lack of an article [1] in the three instances serves to bring out the fact that Jesus is using names for God and Himself, which was one of the chief means of conveying His revelation to simple folk. His revelation did not lead to ways of thought and expression which were difficult for them. It could not if it was dominated by its central motive, which was the fact of God manifested in Himself. That motive and fact would lead Him to use such simple but architectonic names that men and women hearing them would also find them passing insensibly into one another. They would not argue them unto God; but they would, as they did and do, irresistibly draw men and women to the God revealed in Jesus Christ. Jesus not only originated a universal language for religion: He revealed the universal God.

One other condition for the understanding of this narrative must be noticed that the reason for its appearance in the Gospel may be found. His dis-

[1] Cf. ii. Cor. iii. 17, where the article before Πνεῦμα ought perhaps to be dropped for the same reason. To put the article is the Greek way; to drop it will conform the name to the Palestinian way. On Spirit as a name for Jesus Christ, see Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum*, ii. 10; Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, iv. 18, v. 8; *De Baptismo*, x; Justin, *Trypho*, lxxxxvii. 2-3; compare also Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, iv. 20: 'Verbum et Sapientia, Filius et Spiritus,' v. 28: 'per Manus Dei id est Filii et Spiritus.' Now *Hand of God* is an ancient name for Jesus (see *supra*, p. 24 f.). And again Irenaeus, *Demonstration of Apostolical Preaching*, 5: 'fittingly is the Word called the Son, and the Spirit the Wisdom of God,' and cf. 10. Once more Wisdom is a very ancient name for Jesus. Irenaeus evidently has been guided in these instances by a later theology to split up the *Testimonia* names for Jesus which are embedded in the text of the New Testament and in the earliest *Testimonia* texts.

ciples are surprised that He should be talking with a Samaritan woman. The racial adjective has to be added to the text of the narrative [1] because of what is said later to them. For His disciples' thoughts are with the Jews. They do not yet understand that His Gospel is for the world of men and women. Hence the only corn for His or their reaping is, they think, to be found on Jewish fields. And especially are these fields heavy with sheaves at the times of the festivals. Jesus rebukes them. They see whitening grain four months ahead and at Jerusalem.[2] He sees great fields ready now for harvest among the Samaritans. The disciples lack the Sower's vision. They are men of the sickle: they do not know the passion which thrusts plough and seed into untilled fields. Jesus knows that in the same way as God, for it is He who reveals this fact in Jesus Christ. The principle of His revelation which He manifests to the Samaritans is its universal anti-cultism. His disciples had to learn that great lesson, since they only understood as yet, and very imperfectly, that it was anti-Judaic. The reason for the inclusion of this incident of the Samaritan woman, therefore, was that it should enforce the greater abrogative principle of the revelation of Jesus Christ.

B. — vi. *Jesus as the Bread of Life*.[3]—It is a sound canon of interpretation that if a passage, which has

[1] It seems not improbable that the sentence, 'for Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans,' which is out of place after verse nine, should follow verse twenty-seven after γυναικὸς ἐλάλει. This would be a mere scribal blunder.

[2] See further on this subject *infra*, p. 201 ff.

[3] For verses 4 and 51c-57, see *infra*, p. 194

to be explained, offers the lead to its meaning that it should be followed. Much wearisome discussion could have been escaped if that canon had been present to the minds of commentators; and particularly where they have asked, with queer chiming effects, whether the incident came before the discourse or if the discourse had created the incident. The motive for the discourse is disclosed with frankness: the people were determined to make Him 'King.' This determination arose from the 'sign of a prophet' He had shown them. For so they conceived of His deed of human kindliness. That the prophet who could ensure plenty should become 'King' is an apocalypse of the people's creation. Such an apocalyptical effort on their part was almost inevitable when a third factor, that of time, is joined with the other two factors. There is large manuscript support for verse four: 'Now the Passover, the feast of the Jews, was at hand.' But there are grave reasons for believing this to be a very early interpolation.[1] Among them is the cardinal one that the Festival, unto which Jesus goes not a long while after the event in chapter six, is the Feast of Tabernacles. According to the immemorial Folk-conception of that Feast, Jahwe then judged whether the fields should yield men food. The step is a small one between such a conception and its Folk-embodiment in One who could give men food by

[1] See *infra*, p. 194. For the influence of Festal chronology on the structure of the Gospel, see also *infra*, p. 198 ff. Bauer, 97 f., builds a learned excursus on the Passover reference which goes far to fill chapter six with foreign Time and Mystery ideas.

the exercise of His will. There is no hint in the incident that Jesus used the approach of the Festival for the purposes of His revelation. There could be no hint in it, if the incident was to be true, that He had any interest in the people's apocalypse of a King. This apocalypse, however, is a creative factor demanded by the counsel of Caiaphas when, in the last days of the public life of Jesus Christ, he turned its apocalyptical King into the ritual Scapegoat for a bemused people. Thus Jesus became the subject of a second Jewish apocalypse; and both of them came to naught.

For He was Himself, and that is the greater reason for the discourse which arose from this motive of the people's attempt to make Him a theophany of Jahwe, a King of the Harvest. Their apocalypticism forced Him to declare Himself. The natural stages in growth from the discourse's inception to the unfolding of its conception are complete answers to the objection that chapter six is the result of an Evangelist's artifice. It moves too naturally that it could represent either an artificially constructed incident to meet the speech of an artificially contrived Christ of Hellenistic Mysteries, or a curiously wrought piece of early Church history to commemorate a division at Capernaum between Judaic and Hellenistic ideas and their place in Christian thought.[1] The people would make Jesus a Jahwistic

[1] Kundsin, 30 ff. The influence of site on chapter six, which is a most necessary item in Kundsin's thesis, is nil. His thesis fails also in respect of chapters two and four; for neither of these celebrates the work of the Church subsequent to the death of Jesus.

theophany: He, with utmost naturalness, reveals the gulf between the religion from which such views sprang and His own. Mt. Sinai and Mt. Zion have not even a low-lying valley to join them together. Moses and Jesus are as antithetical as death which comes to the body and eternal life which vivifies all the powers of human personality. This Bread of Life is Himself as the embodiment of the revelation of God. And a man or woman partakes of that Bread as He is believed in and followed. There came a time, not long after His death, when the Bread of His revelation was broken in a Eucharist for the revelation.[1] When Jesus was on the earth no symbol was needed. Men and women came to Him, and in their coming they partook of the celestial food which 'if any man eat, he shall live for ever.' But that coming would have to be a true one. It must mean discipleship. There were those among His followers who found it easier to believe in an embodiment of Jahwe than in the Christ who revealed God to men (vi. 60 ff.). There can be little wonder that the ordinary people found their apocalypse true rather than Him. The chrism of the courageous and humble mind which was ready to learn of Him, the gift of the Father to men, marked out His disciples from those who came about Him because He seemed to command the harvest or the destiny of Israel. Thus there were those with Him

[1] *Didache* ix.-x. Note the influence of this Eucharist on the Sacramentary of Sarapion, and especially in the Oblation and Invocation of the *Logos* (Wobbermin, *Altchristliche Liturgische Stücke*, 1899, 5; Wordsworth, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-Book*, 1899, 62 f.).

who kept the way back into Israel open to themselves. They were His deniers because of that backward look ;[1] and from their ranks Judas came to be His arch-denier. This narrative would appear to be the account of their first experience of such plain speech concerning the profound opposition of the revelation of Jesus to the Jewish religion. These two features of the narrative would, therefore, constitute the reasons why the incident was chosen by the Evangelist to have its place in his Gospel.

C.—ix. *Jesus and the Healing of the Blind on the Sabbath.*—In the majority of the episodes contained in this Gospel Jesus is seen in native contrast with the greater matters and practices of the Jewish religion. In this incident He is seen openly in opposition to its lesser and recurrent matters. The ancient Sabbath is swept aside for one on which, like any other day, Christlike deeds may be done and men turn to the Revealer. One remarkable feature is in the narrative ; and it ought to have its influence upon the formulation of the view of sin which shall be true to the teaching of Jesus and real to men.[2] Where Jesus is and speaks there the divisive judgment goes on. Men are divided into the seeing and

[1] In verse sixty-one read ἐν ἑαυτοῖς with *D*, though not for the reason Pallis, 14, gives : ' not wishing their master to hear that any doubts of his word had crossed their minds.' That mild reason does not meet the situation.

[2] Loisy, 319, treats the narrative as a symbolical setting of the separation between the Synagogue and the Church. The Church is, of course, as yet a non-existent institution. This symbolical treatment seems always to suffer from its indelicate handling of documents and its lack of the historic sense.

the blind as they believe or do not believe in Him. Now the blindness which is sin is where men behold and hear Him, and then turn away to the thoughts and practices of the ancient world. The reason why this incident is in the Gospel is written largely over its surface.[1]

D. — xi. *Jesus and Lazarus*. — The historian's feeling, that this is an incident which ought to have its place in the *Life* of Jesus, is strengthened when its motive is found. Its disclosure appears also to remove finally from the Gospel that Apologetic air it has worn since the last two chapters (xx. and xxi.) with their misleading colophons were attached to its original text.[2] For those colophons, if either of them is credited to the Fourth Evangelist, do logically lead to the view that the Gospel, as an Apology for Jesus as Son of God, reaches its highest apologetical point in chapter eleven.[3] When, however, it is recognised that the original Gospel closed with the words : ' and he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true : and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe ' (xix. 35), then Apology gives place to History. The later Christological finals, which in their treatment of the

[1] Verse three is often interpreted as if it were a sort of stage-direction: ' the man is born blind that he may be the subject of a miracle.' The reply of Jesus is an entire refutation of the Palestinian concept of sin which was based on the myth of the angels and the daughters of men (*Enoch* vi. ff.), and which attributes sin in the individual to the invasion of the body by the evil spirits engendered by that strange union (*Enoch* xiv. 8 ff.). The phrase concerning ' the work of God ' refers rather to an opportunity Jesus will seize than to a dramatic pre-arrangement. This conclusion holds good also for xi. 4.

[2] On those chapters, see *infra*, p. 169 ff. [3] Cf. *e.g.* Bauer, 149.

Son no more as a name for Jesus Christ but as a *persona* or *hypostasis* in and of God are distant from His revelation, will be found to belong to a Johannist redactor and not John. He is a recorder of what he sees and hears, and is not a theorist upon the facts of Jesus. The total bearing of the original text of his Gospel, as yet we have been able to determine it, bears out his claim as an historian.

The Evangelist, as is his custom, proffers us the key to the incident in the phrase: 'whom Jesus raised out of the dead' (xii. 1). Through Lazarus, Jesus illustrates His own and His revelation's conquest of the place of the dead. In the light and shadow of Martha's faith is seen the struggle between the Palestinian Folk-view of that place and her belief in Jesus. 'I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection in the last day' is in conflict with 'Yea, Lord: I have believed that thou art the Christ the Son of God.' Those two verbs 'I know' and 'I have believed' portray her mind. There is no call for other detail. They are true to life, and also to the historian's economy in detail which is governed by what he sees and hears. Martha is more significant for human beings than Mary because, though she has believed in Jesus, she finds it easy to be ridden by ancient fears and ideas. She knows that her brother, who is a good man, will rise again to prolonged life on the earth. Therein he will be like Adam or Enoch or Methuselah, according to the proto-Enochic apocalypse which has been

stitched into the text of the Book of Genesis.[1] She tries also to hold her liberating faith in Jesus Christ. He means something so fresh and transforming that she would believe in Him, yet still the ancient things will deny her freedom. 'I in whom you believe am the resurrection' is such a tremendous reversal of the old and more tangible belief with its end of the world according to the Calendar and the opening of the place of the dead that the good might live again on the earth. These are lights and shadows chasing one another in the mind of a human being. And Martha is never so truly human as when in her modesty she says, 'I have believed,' and goes to seek her sister, who, as she believes, finds it easier to elide the old fears.[2] Martha thinks Jesus will need to have Mary near Him rather than herself. Such details give us the scale of values belonging to the incident. The intrusion of the values of wonder-making destroys its unity and meaning.

For Jesus does or says nothing in a dramatic manner. He could not in such a human context. Even the tremendous fact which He is revealing to men and women steals out to them in a name for Himself. The Marthas of the world can somehow grasp the great truth if it will clothe itself in such a lowly garb. At the tomb of Lazarus, and at His

[1] Genesis v.; cf. *e.g. Books of Enoch* xlv. 5, xcii. 1, etc. The most beautiful setting of this view is in Job xix. 23 ff.

[2] It is significant that Mary could go back to the Jewish practice of wailing for the dead (verse 31 f.). This wailing moved Jesus to revulsion of feeling, as did the crowd's passion for wonder-working (verse 38). The tears of Jesus are for the ease with which His disciples yield to the rule of the Past.

own, there are no marvels of conversion, but only human beings who are battling with themselves and the truth they want and find difficult to believe. The Jewish multitude give His deed an externally dramatic setting, as subsequent events in His life prove. But they miss what He reveals, so closely does He adjust Himself to the homely setting.[1] Their clamour provokes Caiaphas: His revelation, in the humble surroundings of Bethany, instils into the mind of mankind that belief in the God revealed in Him has been and is and shall be resurrection unto the life men ought to lead. And it is because He made this known with such clearness in Bethany that the Lazarus incident claimed its place in the Gospel.

The timeless character of His revelation of the overthrow of Hades is presented openly in one of His most remarkable parables. We know it as the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. This designation can be made more precise, as will be shown, by means of ancient evidence. And the significance of the parable can be increased if the time and place of its use are found. It must have been spoken after the raising of Lazarus. The narrative of that event allows for no time in which Jesus could have preached to the assembled Jews;

[1] Kundsin, 46 ff., makes Bethany a site for wondering pilgrims, and chapter eleven to be a Pilgrim's record, by missing the historical points in the narrative. He inflates their lowly scale of values with the breath of a *Logos*-Saviour, and finds in them the record point of His wonder deeds. Certainly it is only by such means that an emphasis can be given which is adequate to make their sites to be the determinants of the Gospel's incidents.

therefore it could have been spoken only during His retirement to the borders of Ephraim, after that Caiaphas had counselled His death as a Sin-offering to restore the religious unity of Israel.[1] We must now go on to find why Lazarus of Bethany must be he who figures in the parable.

There is one important feature to be restored to the text of the parable if it is to be again as it was spoken by Jesus. Then the Rich Man had a name, even as the poor man. Indeed, he must have a name in harmony with the several characters in the parable. For Jesus has given it the form of dialogue. Other parables have that form, but the speakers are as those in a beautiful type of *Mime*—the father of a prodigal son or the master of many servants. This one also cannot be introduced by the formula: 'The Kingdom of God is like unto,' that one of the meanings of the Revealer or His revelation might be taught. The man in purple and linen prevents that formula. And it will be shown that, as the end of this parable is to meet an historical situation, its structure is sensitively adapted to that end. Now the name of the Rich Man was Phinehas.[2]

[1] On this see *supra*, p. 96 ff. I shall return to the problem of the evidence for this time of retirement in my forthcoming book on the other Gospels.

[2] Pseudo-Cyprian, *De Pascha Computus*, 17; Priscillian, *Tract.* ix. (C.S.E.L. 91). The Sahidic version of Lk. xvi. 19 has the name in the form 'Nineue.' A like form is in a Greek document belonging to the Nitrian Monastery of St. Macarius (Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n-Natrun*, 1926, i. 189), where the name is rendered 'Nineues.' This must have come through the Sahidic. The confusion between *ph* and *nu* can be well understood when we remember that the Sahidic

This could not mean a haphazard choice. It must represent a person who would consort on equal terms with Lazarus, who had been raised from the dead, and Abraham. Early Jewish evidence and the historical situation lead us to conclude that this Phinehas was the well-known high priest of that name. Purple and linen clothes were the primary garments of the high priest.[1] Phinehas was he who refused to lower his dignity to go to the help of an ordinary man.[2] Moreover, we are told that when Jahwe judged Phinehas at his death, he prolonged his life on the earth and conferred powers on him. One authority says: 'He (*i.e.* Jahwe) gave him the life of this world and the life of the world to come'; [3] and a second renders these powers thus: 'And then shalt thou shut the heaven, and at thy word it shall be opened.' [4] A potent reason can be urged, from the side of earliest Christianity, why Phinehas should have been chosen in preference to any other high priest. Everyone knows that High Priest is one of Jesus Christ's names.[5] And all are familiar with the fact that one of the two great *testimonia* for this name is the verse: 'Thou art priest for ever after

translator would be working upon a third or even second century papyrus copy of Luke. A comparison of the more loosely written forms of those two letters, in the period indicated, will yield reasons of form why they could be confused.

[1] Ex. xxviii. 31 and 39. [2] *Tanhuma* 7.

[3] *Pirke R. Eliezer*, 47.

[4] Philo Judaeus, *Biblical Antiquities*, xlviii. (ed. James, 1917, 211). The editor also quotes the *Pirke*. On the identity of the place of the dead and the Jewish world to come, see Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 1893, 103 (xxxii. 3).

[5] *E.g.* Heb. v.

the order of Melchizedek.'[1] The other *testimonium* is the passage in which the God of Israel tells Eli that when Phinehas dies another priest shall take his place, and Eli's line be at an end.[2] Now in one of the very ancient texts of the teaching-mode of Christ's revelation these two *testimonia* are grouped under the heading: *Quod sacerdotium vetus cessaret et novus sacerdos veniret, qui in aeternum futurus esset.*[3] This heading marches exactly with the thought of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and with this parable spoken by Jesus Christ. There are radical Christian reasons, as well as early Jewish evidence, why the name Phinehas should have been chosen for the third character in His parable.

Among the Jewish material for the making of this parable will be noticed that Phinehas was given 'a power of the keys'—a power of binding or loosing concerning the place of the dead and a world of liberty. This is what is denied to him by Jesus. Phinehas is enclosed in the gulf of the place of the dead, 'in the flame of the pain of Hades.'[4] The despised follower of Jesus, Lazarus, is in Abraham's bosom. For Abraham has 'rejoiced' in the revelation of Christ.[5] Its timeless sway over mankind could not have been more deftly suggested. And

[1] Ps. cx. 4.

[2] 1 Sam. ii. 34 ff.

[3] Cyprianic *Testimonia*, i. 17.

[4] *Enoch* lxiii. 10, ciii. 7-8.

[5] Jn. viii. 39, 52 ff. This passage serves also to bring out the true force of the reference to Moses and the prophets in Lk. xvi. 29. They are viewed from the standpoint of Jesus' use of the Old Testament. The phrase 'Abraham's bosom' is a touch which shows the anti-Judaism of the thought of Jesus. There is no possible parallel to it in Rabbinics as Strack and Billerbeck, ii. 225 f., prove. Nor could there be, since Abraham is portrayed as one who has received the revelation of Jesus.

its timeless grace unto life for men, who will believe, is presented with that sharpness of edge which cuts unto their release from the manifold powers making for deadness of human personality in the religions of the ancient world. To recover all this latter quality for the parable, we must remember the circumstances of when and why Jesus spoke it.

Lazarus had been raised from the dead, and Caiaphas the high priest had concluded that Jesus should be the Sin-offering for an offending Israel; and thus that He should be bound for ever in the place of the dead, as He must with that load of sin upon Him. The answer of the Revealer to all this is put into parabolic form. This means that the characters of the parable, if they are actual persons, are in some degree merged in the lesson it would convey. Its dialogue is not like the conversational form of a play, wherein the historical character must so mould each word and phrase that they become himself in speech. Thus Lazarus merges a little into the type of the ordinary and despised follower of Jesus Christ,[1] and Caiaphas into another high

[1] For Lk. xvi. 21, which is the description of the destitution of Lazarus, who now is the typically despised follower of Jesus, cf. Mt. xxv. 35-40. Klausner, 267, declares that this parable is spoken, as well as the alleged raising of Lazarus, in imitation of the doings of Elijah or Elisha. Such a judgment manages to overlook both history and the creative factors of the parable. Many students of the Gospels have to be warned that what has to be found by most delicate analysis—*e.g.* the creative factors of a parable or discourse—were themes known quite well to the audiences of Jesus. They had heard Him say such things before. We are inclined to treat the small record of what He said as if it were a complete record. When he gives the unexpected turn to the familiar saying, we have to search for it, lest the unexpected should lead us into an inapplicable conclusion concerning what and how He speaks.

priest, Phinehas, who also claimed to hold the keys of life and death. A master-stroke completed the etching in of the historical situation, for Abraham welcomes the lowly follower of Jesus into that order of immortal life which is theirs who follow the God revealed in Jesus Christ. The overthrow of the things which Caiaphas connotes is turned into the grace of the revelation of life for all men. And this grace is not less the grace of God, because the revelation is bound to be set sternly against those who will to follow the ways of thought and rite which mean deadness rather than those ways of discipleship which mean life for men. The parable is Jesus' answer in terms of life for men to Caiaphas' judgment on Himself in terms of death according to the ideas of ancient Semitic cults. And Lazarus is His singularly appropriate choice as the bearer of this message to men.[1] Two historic events, then, are the causes of this original setting of a cardinal phase of the revelation of Jesus Christ: the raising of Lazarus from the dead and the sentencing of Jesus by Caiaphas to become the Scapegoat in behalf of the disunity of Israel.[2]

[1] A larger recognition than as yet has been given to it will have to be made concerning Jesus' overthrow of the place of the dead. We shall not get His teaching right on Life and Immortality until we do this. It is that which created such a saying as the much discussed reply to Peter at Caesarea Philippi (Mt. xvi. 13 ff.; see Burch, *Revelation*, 116 ff.). And it is that also which gave Paul the hope of overcoming his Semitic and Tarsian fears concerning the powers of the place of the dead.

[2] I have suggested *supra* that the parable of Lazarus and Phinehas is a higher type of *Mime*. An endeavour to discover the very literary agent which served to give form to the parable leads me to ask if Jesus had in mind the *Dirge-epitaphs* which are found all over Asia Minor. Ramsay, *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation*, 1927, 98 ff., publishes a

These incidents, which come between the deeds and words of Jesus at Festival periods in the Jewish year, assert their right to a place in the Fourth Gospel because they display, either for the first time or so luminously as to thrust themselves out in the course of the ministry of Jesus, the greater principles of His revelation.

specimen from Kolu-Kissa, which he dates about 300 A.D., that mingles pagan and Christian ideas. It is plain that the Christian ideas are either borrowed from the parable, or the epitaph enshrines a stock structure on which Jesus built His parable. The epitaph celebrates Menander the presbyter who rests ' in the bosom of Abraham.' And it goes on to represent a duologue between him and his wife. She mourns for her husband ; he enjoins her not to weep nor to be concerned for ' the souls of my brothers.' The epitaph closes with the desire that Menander may be released from the place of the dead (reading ἀχέων in line 15). Jesus must have been aware of the *Dirge* material which went to make up these epitaphs. If He has utilised that material as the substructure of His parable, He has overthrown both Hebrew and Greek and Roman worlds and ideas concerning death and life. It would seem that some such usage on His part was necessary, if early Christians in Phrygia were to find the Christian material for their *Dirge-epitaphs* in His parable.

V

THE CLUSTERED CONVERSATIONS IN THE GOSPEL AND THE PRIMARY TEACHING OF JESUS CHRIST

THERE are some elementary considerations to be settled before we can cross the threshold of the three remarkable chapters, the fourteenth and fifteenth and sixteenth, of this Gospel. For how that threshold is crossed determines our interpretative behaviour towards the ideas and terms of those chapters. It makes a great difference, for instance, if they are looked upon as a discourse or sequent discourses instead of conversations. For the first description involves certain formalisms in our minds: the teacher or preacher and the ordered expression of his thought. These are very seductive formalisms, as can be seen if the multitudinous literature on the Fourth Gospel is examined. It is not the text of the Gospel but they which must be held responsible for the common critical opinion that in the three chapters we have a discourse or the material of discourses. The *Logos-Christ* must preach: it is His business to be a maker of discourses. But the text of the three chapters, for those who hold such views, presents a thicket of problems concerning form and content.

Now in respect of the form of these alleged discourses, it is claimed that they are rather mosaic-work of what Jesus has said elsewhere than discourses which move to their conclusions by the powers of fresh thought and the teacher's power to express himself. Indeed, this mosaic-work is declared to be of very poor design, which here is unimaginatively followed and there is thrown aside.[1] And if the *Logos*-teacher and discourse concepts are to be allowed to stand, it must be acknowledged that there is truth in this view. Its tabular demonstration seems to affirm the opinion to the eye, thus :[2] 1. xiv. 10, 11, 20 = xv. 1-10 ; 2. xiv. 13 = xv. 7 ; 3. xiv. 15, 21 = xv. 10 ; 4. xiv. 16, 17, 26 = xvi. 13 ; 5. xiv. 19 = xvi. 16 ; 6. xiv. 27 = xvi. 33 ; 7. xv. 3 = xiii. 10 ; 8. xv. 12, 17 = xiii. 34, 35 ; 9. xv. 15, 20 = xiii. 16 ; 10. xvi. 28 = xiii. 3 ; 11. xvi. 31, 32 = xiii. 38. The power to see may be satisfied with such a statistical series, but the power to judge ought to be alert to its faults, since among these parallels there is not one of them which is exactly alike in idea and word ; and some of them have no analogical likeness with one another. It may be suggested, therefore, concerning this first view of the form of the three chapters that it is the consequence of those two formalisms of teacher and discourse, and is not an exact deduction from the text of the Gospel.

A second view in respect of their form represents

[1] *E.g.* Harnack, *Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. der Wissenschaft Berlin*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1915, 551.

[2] Cf. Bauer, 183 ; Holtzmann, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1902, 50 ff.

a trilemma for choice among hypotheses. These are: 1. That the author of the Fourth Gospel writes a discourse in chapter fourteen and paraphrases it in chapters fifteen and sixteen; 2. That a redactor having read the fourteenth chapter adds a commentary to it in the following chapters; 3. That in the preparation of an early edition of the Gospel there were utilised fragments of discourses, and that these were intruded over the surface of the Gospel and as well into these chapters.[1] But is there not work of supererogation in the three hypotheses? The true movement in language and thought of the chapters, and their successive filiation with the circumstances in which they were spoken, ought to be evidence enough to raise this paraphrastic charge against chapters fifteen and sixteen. Secondly, the work of a commentator on the fourteenth chapter, which is the work of a second and different mind, ought not to have been so waywardly wealthy in his comments as to forget the text he was commenting upon; nor ought he to have been so richly exact and original in his use of the essential speech of the first mind. This is not a matter of verbiage, but a question which concerns the spiritual genius of Jesus Christ finding such expressions which should bring His peace to His own disciples. The simple historical truth is that neither the earlier nor the later centuries have produced commentators with ability to originate that enlivening consolation for troubled men and women.

[1] *E.g.* Loisy, 416 f.

Thirdly, this editor is an imaginary affluence from the orthodoxy of Synoptic criticism. He has never existed. Therefore his edition of the Fourth Gospel is, like the editor, a creation of 'the winds that blow through the starry ways.'

The problem of the form of these chapters is capable of an elementary and true solution: they are not discourses, but conversations. All actual converse permits of an onward flow of thought, and it as naturally makes refluent allusion to the things which have been said or are known to the company of friends who, if they do not intervene again and again, by their presence contribute the questions which need to be answered. And when this conversation is made in a time of such trouble as the fracture of the living contact between the Lord and His disciples, since these humble men judged that His death would mean that for them, then it is to be expected that He will dwell on certain things as being the *leit-motiven* of His consolation for minds which could but slowly grasp His meaning and message.

The problem concerning the context of the three chapters which arises before we can cross their threshold has to do with our approach to them. Let us be certain that we cannot assess their values on Jesus' own terms, and we approach them so as to assess them after an Alexandrian or an Ephesian scale of values. Jesus becomes the sort of *Logos* Philo gave large place to in his thought,[1] or the sort

[1] Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, 159 ff., appears to think that if Philo's *Logos* is given union with the person of the historic Galilean, then the

of *Logos* a Paulinist had created from the fusion of Herakleitos with the *Memra* and the Galilean 'ascended on high.' There may be beauty of mysticism in such creations, but each has ignored the most essential factor for accurate interpretation of the three chapters which is, that Jesus Christ demands that He and His speech shall be valued in His own terms. This is an obvious conclusion to draw, when we know that *Logos* is one of the names He gave Himself and in His own way. Moreover, it is impossible to trace anywhere in the three chapters the slightest evidence of the influence of Logos philosophical thought. He is so far away from its influence that He has made its chief category into a name for Himself, and has given it a transforming content. What was done in the Prologue is not undone in these three chapters. The nature of their material is against such a possibility. For even if the opposite view claimed no more than an approximation to Philonic literary method, and especially in the use of allegory, the material of those chapters will be found to yield its complete reply. The conversations of Jesus are moulded in other ways and by other ideas. Therefore it is certain that the approach to those chapters ought to be of the kind which shall permit Jesus and His disciples to explain themselves. It is, of course, the approach which all ancient literature requires of us.

Christian difference is made out between the Fourth Gospel and the Jewish philosopher. Cf. Grill, 139 ff.; Kennedy, *Philo's Contribution to Religion*, 1919, 35 ff.

To make it is very difficult; and it is profoundly difficult to accomplish when we are dealing with the New Testament. We may agree to put aside the notion that this Gospel and its Figure are the products of Greek philosophy; we have still to be aware of later European theologies and to know how these affect our minds, lest they cause us to fill these three chapters with other and unwanted values. Thus the elementary solution for the problems as to content, which meet us before we can enter upon the interpretation of these chapters, lies in the appreciation of the fact that they have the right to demand that they be understood by means of and in harmony with their own original values.

The conversations are moulded by two dominant stimuli: Jesus is soon to go away from His disciples, and He is talking with His disciples in the Paschal season concerning His going away. Jesus utilises those stimuli unto two ends: He would woo His disciples to think of Him and His revelation in a larger context than that of Time, and He would woo them from the besetting context of ancestral ideas and practices in religion. These ends have been in Jesus' ways with His disciples from the beginning; hence it is not a sign of inapt artifice on the part of an editor that notes in His teaching He has struck before should recur in these conversations, but rather the mark that He had talked in such a manner to men who were not quick to learn. The doubts and feelings He responds to are old doubts and feelings in those very human minds. The recurrent

themes which minister to fear and doubt bear witness to the remedial and vivifying grace of the teaching they have failed to use. That the revelation of the true God should have a voluminous *Materia Medica* represents an impossible conception of His ways with men. Thus the Revealer would say and do only the few ineffable things of God where human beings need hope and life; and He would say them again and again. The disciples could learn in no other way. And we have not yet understood Him. For our immediate task we must grasp those stimuli and His ends. Then the conversations are artlessly His.

There is no break between the chiding of Peter (xiii. 36 ff.) and the words which have strengthened millions of men and women: 'Let not your heart be troubled: believe in God, believe also in me' (xiv. 1). Peter has called up 'the way they cannot follow now.' Jesus' words show that He is conscious of all the men about Himself and of how their minds at the mention of that way would turn to Palestinian Folk-ideas.

'I go to prepare a place for you'—the word τόπος for the disciples means the place of the dead:[1] for Jesus it is the place of life with God which He reveals. 'In My Father's house are many μοναί; if it were not so I would have told you.' He is answering the Enochism to which their minds would revert: 'they will acquire houses through their righteousness, and the House of the Great King[2]

[1] Cf. *Enoch* xxi. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10; xxii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[2] This means the Jewish temple; see Charles *ad loc.*

will be built with glory for ever '[1]—an apocalyptic escape from the place of the dead unto a second term of life on the earth. Jesus sets in contrast God's House of eternal life: it is His synonym for the 'place' He reveals. Does He take the Enochic 'houses' and set them in an abiding place? We have been used for centuries to the 'many mansions,' and there may be some authority from papyri for this rendering of μοναί.[2] A papyrus of the time of Hadrian uses the word for a time of residence, and a seventh-century one for a place of monastic residence.[3] These meanings look in the direction of the familiar phrase 'many mansions,' but they do not directly affirm its rightness. Nor do they suit the words of Jesus. There is another meaning for μοναί which has excellent support in papyri, ranging in date from 250 B.C. to 342 A.D. There it stands for 'a personal security' or 'a personal surety.' We may see how this meaning proves itself in the words of consolation. Jesus would dispel their fears and doubts by means of the two surpassing Sureties: 'Believe in God, believe also in me'; and then He proceeds to console them further from His revelation: 'In my Father's House are many sureties; if it were not so, I would have told you.' And with that last phrase He makes Himself again

[1] *Enoch* xci. 13.

[2] Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, *sub* μονή, quote one possible instance from Wilcken. For other papyri illustrations given in this chapter, see this admirable work.

[3] Cf. Palladius, *Lausaic Hist.* (ed. Butler, 1904), xi. 1033B, xviii. 1057B, xxi. 1068B, xxxii. 1100B, xlvii. 1196 A-B, lii. 1217B; also at xxii. 1076D the word seems to mean 'a stage in a journey.'

the great Surety. This refreshing concept of His Suretyship comes out with quadruple emphasis in that other lovely reversal of the powers of the Palestinian place of the dead: 'For I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go to prepare a place for you, I come again, and I will receive you unto myself; that where I am, ye may be also.'

When the fears of His disciples find voices in Thomas and Philip, Jesus enriches this concept of the Divine Sureties. He shows them the Father in the Revealer, and the Revealer in the Father. 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father,' is not a speculation about the economy of the divine being, but another and universally comprehensible way of saying: 'God revealed in Jesus Christ.' Divine Suretyship for them and for us consists in knowing that the Two are One. And it is a matter for our most serious consideration in these days, when the sense of Jesus Christ as Revealer has been almost lost, that Jesus can only empower the concept of the Divine Sureties for human beings by insistence upon the cardinal Christian facts of His Revealership and His revelation.

'I am the Way, the Truth and the Life' are names for Him which are clear in meaning only as they recover their primary alliance with Revealer and revelation. We miss them and Him by following Hermetic [1] or Mandaean [2] parallels. We thus merge

[1] *Corpus Hermeticum*, i. 12; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 331 f.; Bauer, 174 f.

[2] Bultmann compares *R. Ginza*, iii. 3. 64 ff.: 'I am Light's Messenger. Everyone who savours his sweet perfume, comes to life'; and Lidz-

them and Him into a texture of thought which, though it may have a certain geographical contiguity with the land into which He came, is alien in affinities and content and time from His revelation. Its sources and principles are abrogative of such thought. He ought never to have been enmeshed in the multi-coloured web of cult connexions. By doing that, we defeat Him and His message, and prevent Him from His sovereign claim to that originality which belongs to the Truth. 'I am the Way, the Truth and the Life' is an instance of His originality, both in the mode and matter of His message; and as a consequence, of the power of that message to help human beings in times when every faculty hungers to know.

We should be familiar by this time with the fact that Jesus used a series of names for Himself to carry certain of His and His revelation's profounder meanings. He took some most usual items from the religious idiom of Palestine and made their connotations new. We know, for instance, that Prov. viii. 22 ff. and *Sirach* xxiv. 5 ff. were sources for certain of these names.[1] What we have not realised yet is that these are sources also for the three names: The Way, the Truth and the Life. The practical demand of the revelation would be that such items

barski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, 67 f.: 'Thou art the father who is all *uthras*, the pillar who is all light, the vine who is all life, the great tree who is all gnosis.' It requires no comment to show that these parallels belong to another world of thought. And that if any borrowing has been done it is on the Mandaean side. On Mandaeism and Gnosticism, see Pallis, *Mandaean Studies*, 151 ff.

[1] See *supra*, Chap. I.

were not taken from a large series of sources. They must be from a small series, for then reference between names and sources would be easy, and become instinctive in practice.[1] Each name had its *aura* of allusion. And the listeners to Jesus could say: 'The words from which that name came once meant so-and-so, but now they mean Him.' We can illustrate this matter from the three names: The Way, the Truth, the Life.

Let us examine first Justin Martyr's text of Prov. viii. 22 ff. It begins, according to the accepted text of his *Trypho*,[2] in the manner in which it is found almost everywhere in Patristic literature: Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ. But the reading of the Paris codex, at this place, is ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ. And again, in a second place,[3] the scribe of the codex has written the same reading in the margin of his text. Further, the Cheltenham codex has that identical reading in its margin. This is a more recent manuscript than the one in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Both manuscripts belong to the same textual family; therefore it must be seen that this reading is older than both of them. Now Origen knew this reading, as can be seen in his *Commentary on John*,[4] when he writes: ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀρχὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ, κτλ. It is clear, then, that this was Justin's reading, and his text should admit

[1] Students of the Cyprianic *Testimonia*, for instance, should notice that the putting together of Prov. viii. and *Sirach* xxiv. in *Test.* ii. 1 is evidence of their primitive alliance in the Christian mind, and not of later artificial arrangement.

[2] lxi. 3. [3] cxxix. 3. [4] i. 11; *P.G.* xiv. 41A.

it.[1] This, too, was what Jesus read in the Proverbs *testimonium*.

What was not in His *testimonium* was the phrase: 'The Lord (or God) established (or formed) me in the beginning.' That is the phrase which by citation in *Testimonia* texts[2] has caused some acute theological difficulties.[3] Jesus began the excerpt for the purposes of His revelation thus: 'His way, before His works of old, I was set up from everlasting,' etc. Thence came His name, *The Way*.

It has been remarked already that Prov. viii. and *Sirach* xxiv. are inseparable as a name-source for Jesus. The Prologue to this Gospel is a brilliant illustration of this fact. If then we turn to the Proverbs' companion-source, *Sirach*, xxiv., and for a moment to the Cyprianic *Testimonia*,[4] where they are set side by side, we shall notice that the *Sirach* excerpt is imperfectly preserved. It includes verses 5 to 11a, and goes on to 25b and 26. And verse 25b it renders: 'Spes omnis in me vitae et virtutis.' Now if *Codex Amiatinus* is appealed to, we find that famous manuscript renders the whole of verse 25 thus: 'In me gratia omnia vitae et

[1] Archambault, *Justin*, 1909, 288, remarks: 'Si cette leçon se retrouvait ailleurs qu'en Justin, on pourrait être assuré que c'est bien elle que Justin lisait.' Origen has it.

[2] The phrase which Jesus did not read was added in early *Testimonia* texts, as can be seen in the Cyprianic version or Justin, to be the source for the name Ἀρχή. Cf. *e.g.* Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum*, ii. 10 (*P.G.* vi. 1064c); Irenaeus, *Adv. Haereses*, iv. 20. 3 (*P.G.* vii. 1033); Justin, *Trypho*, lxi. 1, lxii. 4.

[3] Cf. *e.g.* Athanasius, *Orat. contra Arianos*, ii. 44.

[4] ii. 1; Prov. viii. 22-31; *Sirach* xxiv. 5-11, 25-26.

veritatis; in me omnis spes vitae et virtutis.'[1] These words exhibit, without need for argument, that *Sirach* xxiv. is the source allied by Jesus with Proverbs viii. to yield His two other names: *The Truth* and *The Life*. The two little pieces from Sapiential writings have become winged chariots to bear Revealer and revelation into minds which knew quite well their lowly estate before His mind touched them with life. Through the names of this Surety the true and living God came to His disciples in their trouble.

Jesus proceeds to make the concept of His Suretyship richer. He sums up what He has been doing for bewildered men in the name Comforter, and shows that He will come again—He will not have them orphans—and His name will always be Comforter. That is a beautiful rendering of the Greek word Παράκλητος. And it is accurate if it is a synonym for Surety. It is actually the picture-word for Surety. That is to say, the one who is called alongside another is not there for legal purposes, as the Latin word *Advocatus*[2] suggests, but to assume and assuage the moral and mental needs of men. Jesus gives μονή its richest moral equivalent in a name for Himself, which represents Him as endlessly present to His followers in the Spirit of God.

[1] Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 1884, i. 326. The Greek text of *Sirach* xxiv. 25 is in a confused condition; see Hart, *Ecclesiasticus*, 1909, 162.

[2] *E.g.* Rufinus when translating Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1. 10, where is Παράκλητος, uses 'advocatus.' This is an ancient practice with Latin writers from Tertullian, *Ad Praxeam*, 9, onwards. The Old Latin manuscripts of John vary this rendering with the transliteration of the Greek word. The Vulgate simply transliterates the word.

In his First Epistle (ii. 1), John has this meaning exactly where, speaking of the disciples of Jesus, he says: 'And if anyone of you sin, we have a Surety with the Father, Jesus Christ.' There is nothing in this conception of the function, which Philo[1] imparts to his *Logos*, of being an immortal suppliant to God in behalf of men's affliction and misery. The terms Paraclete and Spirit and Father are so used by Jesus as to lead men's minds to see that He is revealing God to them, and not the work of someone or something outside Himself so as to represent the claims of men and women that mercy or care might be shown to them. The uniqueness of the revelation of Jesus Christ is simply in this, that He reveals who and what God is and is doing for ever. We see these only in Jesus Christ; and we human beings can experience them in the God revealed in Him. Then with another touch, which deepens the beauty and power of the whole concept of Suretyship, since it lifts off from the human mind the burden to find whether these things are true for this or only for another world, Jesus said to the man who would love Him and keep His word: 'My Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.' Thus the two Sureties mingle in one divine ministry of Suretyship in human lives which admit Him. And that means peace in Him. This is how Jesus would woo His followers from their fears and doubts unto the realisation of Him-

[1] Philo, *Quis Haeres sit*, 42. Cf. Kennedy, 113 ff., who by citations from *De Fuga*, 103 f., and *De Specialibus Legibus*, i. 235 ff., really shows that Philo's Paraclete was a semi-abstract idea of the *Advocatus*.

self and His revelation in the timeless context of the thoughts and ways of the God He revealed.[1]

Thence Jesus turned to woo them (and us) from the hold of ancestral ideas and practices in religion. For it is hoped to be able to show that after His words, which are recorded in the fourteenth chapter, the simple meal of bread and wine with His disciples must have been eaten. This of course can be done only as fresh light is thrown on chapter fifteen—the relation of His thoughts with the Paschal meal which was being eaten in Jewry, and Jesus' surpassing of such matters by His revelation. And these matters compose our next task.

A real conversation has the right to break out afresh at any point—the look on a face in the room; a memory; a question; the passing on from the time of waiting to a meal—these are among the influences which change the facets of talk among a united group of men. The ground-tones of conversation may abide throughout, but speech will ripple hither and thither as it takes motion and light from the play of circumstance. 'I am the true Vine'[2] is from another part of the world of figurative speech than that from which came 'I am the Way.' Yet the ground-tones abide: circumstance has moved the speech of Jesus to start from and to break wave-like upon itself. For the source which lent Him the three names now provides Him a

[1] Concerning the words, 'Arise, let us go hence,' see *infra*, p. 197.

[2] The contention of Pallis and Paspati that the text should read 'Vineyard' (Pallis, 32) is inadmissible. Jesus' source for the name is against such a view.

fourth. In *Sirach* xxiv. 17-18, Wisdom says: 'I as the vine brought forth pleasantness. . . . I being eternal am given to all my children which are named of him (*i.e.* the Most High).' When Jesus took this name of the *Sophia*, and made it into another name for Himself, He left us one of the most perfect and natural examples of what a transplantation could mean from *Sirach* into His own revelation. *The Vine* becomes as new a creation as the soil. It bears no marks of engrafting or pruning. The name might have been spoken without any use of Sapiential material; but for the sake of those about Him, and because of the practical problem that Revealer and revelation must be understood, Jesus keeps to the small compass of their idiom of religion and as always glorifies it.[1] The adjective He puts before this name of His shows convincingly that He is answering in His own manner to something already familiar to His disciples. The thing is done—the passing of *Sirach* into the revelation; the change of the worlds of thought; the leading of the thoughts of the perplexed to His mind—with the artless art of actual and original conversation.

Not even the most refined analysis can uphold the view that this fifteenth chapter is an example of the 'interpretative transformations of what were originally parables of the Synoptic type.'[2] Whilst a

[1] That *Sirach* xxiv. 17-18 was not only in the teaching-mode of Jesus, but also in the early texts of that mode, is plain from the Cyprianic *Test.* ii. 1. I have already pointed out the fragmentary nature of its text at this point.

[2] Streeter, 372.

much less refined type of analysis can make certain that these words of Jesus are not a Eucharistic extension of a Saying, preserved in the other Gospels, that He would not drink of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom came.[1] If it were possible to conceive that chapter fifteen had grown in this fashion, its author might have added a challenge to all the ages that no one of them could discover his source of inspiration. The facts of the Revealer and of His source for the name He gives Himself finally disprove these opinions. And the use to which He puts the name is His own. The importance of this conclusion grows as we set ourselves to find what temporal impulses caused Him to converse as He did.

It was towards the time of the Paschal meal: Jesus and His disciples were partaking of wine and bread,[2] and not of the flesh of the Paschal animal.[3] He, who had hitherto stood in clear-cut antithesis against Jewish practices, has not assimilated Himself and His teaching with them in the last hours of His life. To have done that, the ancient world would have overcome Him. And one of His most significant and remarkable claims could not ring its message through the ages of man's history as a religious being: 'Be of good cheer: I have overcome the world.' It is not the discovery of anthropological

[1] Mt. xxvi. 29, Mk. xiv. 25, Lk. xxii. 18. Cf. Loisy, 417; Bauer, 184. This Eucharistic opinion seems to have arisen through *Didache* ix. 2, where thanks is made 'for the holy vine of David thy servant.' This is not a parallel in thought or use.

[2] The other Gospels are unanimous on this point.

[3] There was choice between oxen, sheep and goats: cf. Deut. xvi. 2, Ex. xii. 3 ff.

science, but a principle of the teaching of Jesus which discloses how men and women are imprisoned by ancestral things, and that they are free to live and grow only as they believe in the true God.[1] Therefore when the day of the Sin-offering was drawing near, He knew that the world would reassert its tyrannies by the instrumentality of the most venerated practices and ideas in the Jewish year. To measure the power of these things we must understand Judas Iscariot, as Jesus understood him. And then we should look into ourselves; we can see there, as in a mirror, how men in all ages find it easy and usual to pass back into the servitude of that very old world at any moment of high choice.

What were the powers in the Paschal meal which imperilled the discipleship of the men with whom Jesus was conversing? An outstanding authority on Jewish religious rites[2] has laid bare four master-motives in Paschal ceremonial: 1. The Paschal animal is the ancestral god slain and eaten; 2. The meal ensures the god's protection for the social society of the participants; 3. The eating of the Paschal animal gives the eater friendly unity with the ancestral god; 4. The meal, with its accompanying shedding of blood, moves the god to grant fertility for the coming year. These motives are among those which still lie deepest in man. It will be well to adduce now certain evidence for these conclusions which is constantly overlooked. Justin

[1] On Jn. xv. 25, see *infra*, p. 194.

[2] Beer, *Pesachim*, 1903, 15 and 100.

Martyr,[1] it may be recalled, recounts to his Jewish interlocutor in his famous *Dialogue* a number of passages which the Jews have excised from their sacred writings. And among them is one from Esdras which reads: 'Esdras said to the people: This Passover is our Saviour and our refuge. And if you have reflected and taken it to heart that we shall humiliate him in symbol,[2] and afterwards hope in him, then this place for all time shall not become desert, saith the God of the Powers;[3] but if you believe not in him nor heed his message, you will become a laughing-stock to the nations.' Lactantius[4] also knew this passage; and, as it appears, his knowledge of it is even more significant than Justin's. For he found it in an early Syrian *Testimonia* text; and therein it was used, and by himself, as an anti-Judaic *testimonium* for the death of Jesus Christ.[5] The four master-motives of the rite are clearly discernible in the Esdras passage.[6] The meal and the god are one; his social protection is

[1] *Trypho*, lxxii. 1.

[2] The Greek is *ἐν σημείῳ*; cf. xciv. 1-2: *τὸν διὰ τοῦ σημείου τούτου, τουτέστι τοῦ σταυροῦ*. The cross and the symbol are not one.

[3] *ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων*. Cf. *e.g. Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs, Judah*, xxv. 2, where Simeon is over the 'Powers of the Glory' and the Lord is over all. It seems to mean some other divine name than 'Deus omnipotens' which is found, for instance, in 4 Esdras xvi. 63. A literal Greek parallel is Zech. ii. 11 (LXX).

[4] *Div. Inst.* iv. xviii. His version of the phrase mentioned in the previous note is: 'humiliare eum in signo.' Dods, *Ante-Nicene Library*, 1867, ii. 188, rendered it: 'We shall humble him on a standard.'

[5] On Lactantius' *Testimonia* text, see Harris and Burch, *Testimonies*, i. 76 ff., and Burch, *Myth and Constantine the Great*, 1927, 166 ff. This text has its distinctively Syrian qualities, and is derived neither from Justin nor the Cyprianic version.

[6] Gray, 381, who also cites Beer, seems to have overlooked this evidence.

made clear; the killing and the eating of the god is his humiliation and man's union with him, and finally there is the fertility motive. Also the evidence of Lactantius proves, not that Jesus turned it against the Jewish rite, but rather that the early Christians knew how much apart from the rite He was; and thus turned the Jews' triumph over Him as a Paschal victim into their defeat as men who could come to God only through the One they had humiliated.

Jesus was aware of the drawing power of those motives in the men about Him. And over against them He sets the powers unto liberation in Himself. Let us recall that the very ingredients of the meal He eats with His disciples, and His assumption of the name the Vine, are equally set to woo them from the ancient things. Then He inweaves, into the heart of His conversation on these things, motives which can subjugate those master-motives for men from the world He has surpassed. 'Greater love hath none than this that one lay down his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do what I command you. No longer do I call you slaves; for a slave knows not what his lord does: but I have called you friends, for all things I have heard from my Father I have made known to you. Ye did not choose me, but I chose you that ye should go and bear abiding fruit; that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you' (xv. 13 ff.). The first of these words were not spoken by Jesus to become a head-line in our text-books on Christian Ethics wherein we draw such wrongly commonplace con-

clusions concerning self-sacrifice. Jesus uses them to introduce His new conception of man's attainment of friendly unity with God. Jesus Christ wills to be humiliated. He is not a ritual factor of any sort which can be humiliated by men. Friendship through Him with God is by belief in and obedience to His demands as Revealer: friendship with the ancestral god is of the sort known in the world which hates those who follow His revelation. In like manner, the ideas of the security of the community and the fertility of its sites are raised to those new values which must destroy the old. For Jesus requires men to realise that they are personalities which have to do with the Personality; and that fruitfulness can only be thought of in terms of the divine Vine,[1] of which Christ's men are the branches, and unto which the Father is the Husbandman. Jesus does not transcend the old world by means of argument: He causes it to pass away, for all who will listen to Him, by His revelation unto life.

It is manifest, then, that His name the Vine stands for Him as Revealer, whom to abide with means life for the personality of man. He had little need, on this Paschal eve, to refer to Himself as the Bread of

[1] Bultmann has suggested certain Mandaean parallels for this term, cf. also Bauer, 183 f., and among them is a passage from the *Johannes-Buch*, 57, which I render thus: 'The vine that bears fruit grows upwards, but the vine that bears none will be cut off. He then who allows himself to be illumined and taught by me, grows up and beholds the Realm of Light; he who does not allow himself to be illumined and taught by me is cut off and is cast into the Dark Waters.' The lines of the Vine in Jn. xv. can be traced in this passage, but it is evident that the Johannine matter has been absorbed in early Persian cosmological views; see also on this matter Pallis, *Mandaean Studies*, 55 ff.

Life, though bread and wine were on the table before Him. For either as Vine or Bread Jesus led men, as men, to the sense of their ineffably vital need of what and who was manifested in Himself. There was, however, a great reason why the Vine rather than the Bread should be given the great place in the thoughts of His disciples—wine was a prominent feature in the Paschal meal of the Jews. It was that element in which thanks was given to Jahwe for the wonders that had been wrought in behalf of their ancestors.[1] There was not only the spell of ritual motives in this meal, but also of history. The escape from Egypt mingled its call with the motives which, because of their storied use, had found their way into the very nervous structure of men. These things bound them, as the motives and their accretions bind us; but His message and work are bent on the release of men. He can have no part in any anti-national movement, either then or now, as if His interest was in a denominationalism and not in human beings. That His conversations were meant to aid their release, and so doing to present ideas and His person in contrast with the things which were being done and thought at the Paschal hour, we learn from Jesus' own words: 'These things have I spoken unto you, that ye should not be made to stumble. They will put you out of the synagogues.'

Thenceforward the conversation breaks on and flows from contrasts between the adherents of Jahwe

[1] R. Gamaliel in *Mishnah, Pesh.* x. 5; cf. Gray, 379.

and His disciples, until it makes its artless progress towards the contrast between His going away and the remaining concept of judgment in Judaism at Passover-tide.[1] They thought of Jahwe's judgment in respect of crops: He took men's minds to God's judgment which is always in respect of human beings and their commerce with the Truth. The work of His deathless Suretyship in the Spirit of God is that of Judgment against the ancient world of religion (xvi. 7 ff.). His abiding sentence is a dual one against that world: it is convicted of sin because it rejects the revelation of Jesus Christ, and therefore of wilful blindness that it does not see how the same revelation has overthrown the ancient schemes of ideas and practices. Besides the passing of this twofold judgment, the eternal Surety manifests the abiding vindication of Jesus Christ as He who was right in life and word. The δικαιοσύνη of verses eight and ten concerns the rightness in truth of word and being of Jesus the Revealer. He is going away to the Father from whom He came—this is the central vitalism in the revelation of Jesus, and the main cause of His death at the hands of Jews and Romans. His coming again as the eternal Surety vindicates His rightness or truthfulness.

The Greek word is not to be understood as if it had been taken over from the Septuagint, and thence as the equivalent for what Hebrew writers call

[1] The same sort of judgment, though with varying expression, is in all the practices of the old world at this time of year.

'righteousness,' but rather as a cognate with another of His early names, Δίκαιος. Some specimens of primitive Christian preaching will illustrate this point. When Peter spoke at Solomon's Porch to the Temple,[1] he reminded the Jews that they had 'denied the Holy and Right One, and asked for a murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the Author of Life.' Or Paul from the stairway in Jerusalem[2] calls to another Jewish audience 'to see the Δίκαιος, and to hear from Him the supreme *Bath-qol*.' These two messengers are using the name in company with the facts of the Revealer and His revelation. Therefore it is suggested that δικαιοσύνη describes the nature or behaviour of the Δίκαιος: that is, it is the truthfulness of the One who is true. The source from which the name was taken,[3] *Wisdom of Solomon* ii. 12, aids this interpretation: 'Therefore let us lie in wait for Δίκαιος; because he is not for our turn, and he is clear contrary to our doings: he upbraideth us with our offending of the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressings of our education.' This verse contains the name and its lexical notes for the earliest Christians. They are notes which concern Revealer and revelation. Then His δικαιοσύνη has to do with the truth in being and word of the

[1] Acts iii. 14. [2] Acts xxii. 14.

[3] Burch, *St. Paul*, 40 ff. Some of its occurrences in *Testimonia* texts are: Barnabas, *Ep.* vi. 7; Hippolytus, *Demonstratio adversus Judaeos*, ix.-x. (*P.G.* x. 793B); Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* ii. 36 (*P.G.* xxii. 129C); *Eclogae Propheticae*, iv. 2 (*P.G.* xxii. 1200C); Cyprianic *Test.* ii. 14; Evagrius, *Altercatio* (*P.L.* xx. 1177C); *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, 86; Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* iv. 17.

Revealer.[1] That is the spiritual logic of the eternal Surety's judgment, for it is sin not to believe in the revelation ; and if the totality of the ancient world's beliefs and practices have by it been judged already, then it must follow that this eternal judgment is also eternal vindication of the truthfulness of the Revealer. This is a meaning which is informal and original enough to find a place in the conversations of Jesus as the hours sped on to the time of crucifixion.

The coming of the Surety of Truth means the going away of Jesus, therefore the conversation moves on from allusion to great concepts to face the human situation. The trouble of ' the little while ' (xvi. 16 ff.)—a very human trouble—is overcome as some serenity passes into the spirits of His disciples, from a flash of understanding on their part that He is uniquely one with the Father. That is a capital fact in His revelation and in His rôle as Revealer. It is a worn error to say that this is Theology, and thus the creation of some other mind than that of the Galilean. For Jesus is simply telling the truth about Himself in a way these childlike men can comprehend.

And each renascent turning of the world's thought to Him has meant that some hold has been taken on this vital factor in His revelation. That hold may be for as long as the illumined hour lasts. Its pass-

[1] Pallis, 34, invades the term with a foreign mysticism when he paraphrases it as meaning ' in respect of beatification that Jesus has been beatified by joining his father in his abode, where sinners are not destined to meet him ' ; and Hatch (*Harvard Theological Review*, 1921, 105) with a foreign theology when he wants to interpret the term as the righteousness acquired by Christ's mediation in heaven.

ing cannot invalidate the truth of Jesus. What could not be done in the first will not be accomplished in the twentieth century. 'I have overcome the world' is not the cry of a Near Asian Buddha. It is the declaration of the conquest of the God of Truth. We limit that declaration by the death on Calvary. Many of us have tried to fling back its defeat by causing Paul to put the Crucified into the terms of a risen and heavenly Lord.[1] Neither Paul nor we could win God's victory in that manner. But thus both he and we—if Paul can be imagined to be with us in such a dialectical forlorn hope—can, by our presentation of the truth of Jesus Christ, hold back from men the realisation of God's conquest and of the means by which it was gained. The problem of the Upper Room is ours: the Revealer and His revelation be believed and the true God and His conquest are discovered, or the Revealer and His revelation be denied (or lost to view) and the eternal, life-giving ideas and ways of God concerning man and the world are undiscovered.

These conversations of Jesus with His disciples, though spoken in the effortless manner of all true converse, bring Him and His listeners face to face with primary things in His teaching. That would have to be, if Pentecost was to hold any truth for Christianity and the world of men. His revelation is in word and being; therefore one window of the Upper Room must already shine with the light of

[1] Anderson Scott, *Christianity according to St. Paul*, 1927, 244 ff., has written a notable protest against this view, though he has not found the sources Jesus used, and Paul after Him, to explain Himself and God to men.

His coming. 'I go away . . . I come again' are as the windows of that Room; and between them stands the One who must be understood and believed, if the darkness of the crucifixion is not to overwhelm the truth of God. His conversation, because of its simplicities, makes the issue too lucid to be elided which exists between Himself as Revealer and the ancient world of religious ideas and practices. Since the final stage of that issue is not between bad and good ideas in religion, but between the fact of God revealed in Him and all that the other world stands for. This Jesus brought out to His disciples as impulses, from the Paschal doings of the Jews, caused Him to declare to them the surpassing things of His revelation. The conversations gain a new sense of authenticity if those impulses are traced out. They achieve their sovereign rights to be where and as they are when we concede, the most natural claim Jesus has to make, that He is the Revealer of God.[1]

[1] Prof. Burney, *The Poetry of Our Lord*, 1925, 70 ff., has demonstrated: 1. That Antithetic parallelisms are characteristic of Christ's teaching 'in all the Gospel sources . . . and most markedly of all, in the Fourth Gospel.' 2. That in the latter there is no imitation of Synoptic teaching. 3. That any differences in the form of the teaching is sufficiently explained by the change in His audiences, 'in the Synoptists for the most part simple Galilaean peasants; and in the Fourth Gospel usually Rabbinic disputants at Jerusalem.' The findings of my first five chapters coalesce with his to prove the authenticity of the sayings of Jesus; their Aramaic base (*infra*, pp. 199, 222 ff.); their division into two forms suited to His work of revelation in and outside Jerusalem (*supra*, Ch. IV., etc.); and where Burney has shown, for instance, that the interpolation, John vi. 51b-57 (*infra*, pp. 194, 226) has a like poetic form with the other material in the Gospel, he serves to uphold my findings for the work of the Johannist editor of the Gospel, who also is its translator.

VI

THE APPENDED AND INTERPOLATED AND DISPLACED MATERIAL OF THE GOSPEL

A SIMPLE bridge is flung across the swollen waters of the Kidron between the last words of Jesus to His disciples in the sixteenth chapter, ' In the world ye shall have tribulation ; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world ' (xvi. 33), and the historical matter concerning His betrayal and trial and crucifixion (xviii.-xix.). We must cross it after Jesus Christ, and in so doing we have to omit the venerable document in the seventeenth chapter. This we shall find was not in the original text of the Gospel. It was the Gospel's most notable interpolation. When that is borne in mind, the appended material of the Gospel defines itself. It will mean what has been added to the close of the original text. For the present its close shall be roughly described as being the end of what is now the nineteenth chapter. This provisional definition is necessary because we shall be able to define the close with care after that we have analysed the appended material. This material is to be broadly defined as the contents of chapters twenty and twenty-one, if the original text of the Gospel closed with the historical narrative

contained in chapter nineteen. We have then to trace out evidence why those two other chapters are to be considered as not belonging to the original text and whence they came. That the Gospel should have ended with the twentieth chapter has been a commonplace of criticism for a very long while. The foundation of this view is most slender, since it has but two factors : the first being the presence of the incident, which tells of the visit to the tomb in the dawn, that is similar to an account in the other Gospels, but is distinguished here by the phrase, ' and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved ' ; and the second being the presence of the colophon ' but these things are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God ; and that believing ye may have life in his name,' which is claimed to be Johannine in language and a summary of the theological effort of the Gospel.

That slender foundation is made less than a shadow of slenderness if, for instance, we recognise that the Gospel has not nor could have the aim of placing Jesus the Galilean *sub specie aeternitatis*. The *Logos* was but another of the names of Jesus Christ.[1] It does not represent the last stage in the Pauline metamorphosis of a human Jesus into a heavenly Christ. Since Ephesus no more co-operates with Tarsus, than the *Logos* philosophy with the rabbinism of Gamaliel, to produce the historical Jesus Christ who is portrayed in this Gospel. It is also more than evident that no Gospel would have

[1] Cf. *supra*, Chap. I.

been written to prove that one of the names for Jesus was equal to another of His names: that Jesus was equal to Christ, and Christ equal to Son of God. This simple nomenclature, which in His revelation was (and is) used to help humble people to spell out His significance, precluded such labours in the development of Christianity. The reasons why are obvious: (1) He originally used that nomenclature in His revelation; (2) His revelation was meant to be understood; and (3) The historic Revealer created Paul and John in exactly the same manner as He creates any one of His followers of to-day. The Fourth Gospel depicts this Revealer and revelation at work. We have found already many potent reasons why the Gospel could not have been an essay in Christology. We must now go on to find other reasons why these chapters (xx. and xxi.), which have played a considerable part in lending to the Gospel a theological character, could not have belonged to its original text. This chapter then divides itself into three divisions. And the first of them is:

A. *The Appended Material.*

Among the outstanding features of the material in the twentieth chapter is a singular reference to the Ascension[1] (xx. 21-23). In the Third Gospel, for instance: 'Jesus lifted up his hands and blessed them,' before He ascends; but in the Fourth

[1] *E.g.* Carpenter, 23, 'John apparently assumes it,' *i.e.* the Ascension. Carpenter refers only to verse 17.

Gospel: 'He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Spirit.' This difference is so striking that it must be significant. It is not the first time, of course, that the verb ἐνεφύσησεν has attracted attention. But it has done this hitherto that it might find at once a place in the theological vocabulary of Paulinism. He does not use the verb. It is fitted into his conception of the Second Adam,[1] which has its literary basis in the second chapter of Genesis; and thus becomes a portion of the doctrine which conceives of Jesus Christ as the creator of a new and spiritual world of men and women. The Corinthian antithesis,[2] 'the first man Adam became a living soul, the last Adam a life-giving spirit,' looks as if Paul did sometimes think of the message and work of Jesus Christ as though it had been a rewriting of the second chapter of Genesis. Jesus would seem, however, to be over-acting this rôle if He is said to be enacting it in the twentieth chapter of the Gospel. The nature of the tiny narrative is against this invasion of Paulinism. Jesus is seen here not in a framework of Hebrew mythology, to which Paul has given certain theological values, but in a framework of Folk-lore which every Roman knew.

We must first get this narrative from the high levels of doctrine down to the lowlier levels of idea in which it could have arisen. Jesus is about to

[1] *E.g.* Loisy, *ad loc.* 507 f.; see also Bauer, *ad loc.* 225. Hoskyns, *J.T.S.* 1920, 210 ff., works out a Creation mysticism in the Gospel on the basis of Genesis i.-iii.

[2] I. xv. 45.

pass away from the earth, and He is depicted as allowing His disciples to catch His last breath. This was an ancient Roman way of ensuring that life went on. Virgil makes Anna chant that belief in his wonderful verse :[1] ' If a last breath be life, let me catch it in my lips.' Cicero also records this Folk-belief.[2] The writer of this Ascension narrative has put, as it were, a toga on the shoulders of Jesus. He could do that ; and then, as if to secure its dramatic verisimilitude, he must cause Him to speak in a Palestinian way. A Roman could use for ' breath ' the word ' spiritus,' and that word would convey to a Roman eye or ear what was meant when a Palestinian used the word πνεῦμα.[3] The narrator causes Jesus to talk psychology and not theology. Even when the adjective is added to the noun, thus, πνεῦμα ἅγιον, the phrase is still one from Folk-psychology, and differs from the identical phrase in Christian theology. This can be shown from a number of sources. It comes out quite simply, for example, in the fragments of the *Book of the House of Zadok*,[4] where we read : ' And no man shall make abominable his holy spirit.' That statement inevitably recalls another in Leviticus (xx. 25) : ' And ye shall not make your souls abominable by beast

[1] *Aeneid* iv. 683 ff. ; cf. Servius, *ad loc.* (ed. Thilo and Hagen, 1881, i. 581).

[2] *Orat. in C. Verrem Aet.* II. v. 46, 118 (ed. Müller, 1880, I., ii. 472).

[3] See Servius and Cicero as cited ; cf. Frazer, *The Dying God*, 1911, 206.

[4] The original text was edited by Schechter. A competent translation is by Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1913, ii. 811 (vii. 12), 815 (vii. 20), who also makes the reference to Leviticus.

or by fowl'—an analogy which brings out the synonymity of the terms 'holy spirit' and 'soul,' and as well exhibits their quaint physical side in Semitic Folk-psychology. Therefore the writer of this Ascension narrative, when he robed Jesus with a toga would have known, that the Folk-speech of Rome and Palestine concerning the emitting soul was so very similar, that the Roman act of gathering it when emitted would have fitted the word to the deed as if both belonged to Romans and Semites. On these levels of ideas, it is suggested, the narrative is to be understood. And that thus we authoritatively acquire the hint as to where it was written.

This Roman narrative has also Petrine colour. That is its second characteristic. For unto its Folk-lore is added the power to forgive and to retain sins. Now Caesarea Philippi could not be transplanted into Roman soil, but some memorable words spoken there to Peter[1] could be transposed into a Petrine narrative which was being written in Rome. It is an unnecessary strain to put upon its text, and the context in which it is found, to attempt the discovery in its words of the organised Church with her powers of recruiting and policing by a discipline of penitence, as does Loisy.[2] Neither text nor context is grown-up enough to allow even the most ghostly outline of that structure to be traced in them. But both will permit the conclusions of Roman provenance and Petrine colour. For the text, let us say, both conclusions have been provisionally

[1] Mt. xvi. 13 ff. [2] *Op. cit.* 508.

established. We must pass on to the examination of its context.

The cardinal incident in the twentieth chapter is certainly Petrine: Mary Magdalene runs from the empty tomb 'and cometh to Simon Peter' (xx. 2).[1] Whilst the two incidents of the twenty-first chapter are almost more markedly Petrine. There is then that organic sort of relationship, among the incidents recorded in what are now the last two chapters of the Fourth Gospel, which warrants the conclusion that they make up the context to an account of the Ascension with primitive Roman characteristics. This Petrine material with its striking evidence of Roman provenance can claim no place in the Gospel to which it is appended. Where, then, did it originally belong?

There is one Gospel which is both Petrine and Roman. Peter as the personal source of very much that is in Mark is widely recognised, but Rome as the place in which the Evangelist wrote has yet to become as widely believed. There are, however, excellent ancient evidence and modern arguments [2] for the latter belief. This Gospel has no authentic gathering of Resurrection incidents at its close. For not only are the verses from nine to twenty of the received text additions to Mark, but also the story

[1] The problem of the phrase 'and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved' is dealt with *infra*, p. 191 ff.

[2] *E.g.* Harnack, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1902, 163 ff.; Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1905, xxxix.; Zahn, *Einleitung*, 1907, ii. 242; Bacon, *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* 1919, 48 ff.; Goguel, *Introduction*, i. 365 ff.

of the women at the tomb told in the first eight verses of chapter sixteen bears marks of having been composed to fill in a part of the missing evidence for the Resurrection. Its cluster of women's names, for instance, seems quite clearly to have been borrowed in copyist's manner from the previous chapter (xv. 40). Moreover, the coming of that cluster in the closing verse of the fifteenth chapter, a third appearance within the space of nine short verses, looks as if this scribal mannerism had become automatic, or an over-emphasis was being made to give historical character to what was after all a piece of composition to fill a gap. That it was a dilute form of the tradition which Matthew records (xxviii. 1-10) is a more probable view than that Matthew enhances the tradition which Mark had put into his Gospel. Matthew also has a triple repetition of women's names within a space of twelve verses in his Resurrection narrative. But there is no automatism in the First Gospel's usage. Its tradition moves easily, and its scale of emphasis is not heightened. The circumstance, too, contributes to the impression that the composer, of what is now the incident of the women at the tomb in Mark, had before him the material which yielded the Matthaean account. The conclusion, then, is that the original text of Mark completely lacks its authentic ending of material concerning the Resurrection and Ascension. What now, in the accepted text, is the sixteenth chapter of Mark is an inauthentic close to that Gospel. If this larger gap

is made in its text, can we hope that it may be truly filled? To answer that question we must reconsider the essentials of the manuscript evidence for the Markan endings which now occupy the last twelve verses of the Second Gospel, since thus we can be led to some very illuminating conclusions concerning the last two chapters of the Fourth Gospel.

Those essentials are few, and they can be stated without making a wide detour to include what we ought, or without going deeper into the palaeographical problems of the Second than we should in a book on the Fourth Gospel. We will look at them as they group themselves under these three heads: the combination, the confirmation, and interpretation of *Codex L*.[1] It will be remembered that this remarkable manuscript contains two endings, after Mark xvi. 8, which have superscriptive phrases attached to them. The scribe evidently meant his readers to recognise them as such, for he frames both of them in a series of barbed and zig-zag strokes.[2] The first of these: 'Now something like this is met with,' introduces the less familiar shorter ending;[3] and the second: 'But this also is to be met with after the words "for they were afraid,"' prefaces the longer ending with which everyone is familiar

[1] Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, 1846, 57 ff., for transcript of the codex.

[2] For a photograph of these documents, see Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 1912, 108, Pl. vii.

[3] Nestlé, for example, prints the text of this ending at the end of Mk. xvi.

(xvi. 9-20). Burgon condemned the codex in his picturesque way. Its text was 'vicious' and its scribe 'incapable of distinguishing the grossest fabrication from the genuine text.'[1] For those students of the New Testament who were impressed by the manuscript his language was as buoyantly impolite. He was often in a condition of turbulent fluency of speech in behalf of his theological predilections or his statistical method with manuscripts to establish a reading in the New Testament, and this he confused with the attainment of candid results. The Burgon method has many names in several languages, but its expression differs, according to the possessor's faculty of speech. We have a good deal yet to do in New Testament criticism to rid it of Burgon-like ways unto confusion. That designation brings us back from general reflexion to the particular instance which suggested them; from the condemnations to the confirmation of *Codex L.*

Armenia put Burgon to silence. The discovery in Edschmiadzin[2] of an Armenian version of Mark xvi. 9-20 with the heading *Ariston Eritzou*—that is, in Greek Ἀριστίωνος πρεσβυτέρου—was more more than equal to the task, since it meant not only the discovery of the author of the longer ending, but also a luminous reminder of the importance for textual criticism of the ancient versions of the New

[1] Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark*, 1871, 124.

[2] Conybeare, *Expositor*, 1893, 241 ff.; 1895, 401 ff. Some scholars ascribe as well Jerome's version of the shorter ending of Mark—*Adversus Pelagianos* (*P.L.* xxiii. 550c)—to Aristion.

Testament other than Greek. It was a very fine illustration of the fundamental law, for the recovery of the original text, that 'the eye may not say to the foot I have no need of you.' Burgon had a poor opinion of the Old Latin and Ethiopic versions, because they recorded the shorter ending to Mark; and also because not one of the versions would or could claim to be a Greek uncial manuscript in which he thought was the true text of the New Testament. This, too, was the reason why his Greek 'eye' thought that *Codex L* was such a contemptible 'foot.'

This ocular disloyalty to a fundamental law blinded him to the simple conclusion that *Codex L* and its supporters were telling how conscientious scribes had found Mark without an ending and had written down certain alternative endings. The Armenian version of Mark preserves the very name of the source of the ending which Burgon, and many others after him, had declared to be the authentic one. We now know that if Justin[1] is citing where he writes ἐξελθόντες πανταχοῦ ἐκήρυξαν, he is quoting Aristion and not the Gospel. Irenaeus, who in the Latin version of his chief work ascribes[2] this longer ending explicitly to Mark, is a witness of the early dissemination of the tradition of Aristion. Finally, Papias is here only the reporter of the same presbyter.[3] *Codex L* and the allied versions offer

[1] *Apol.* i. 45.

[2] *Adv. Haereses*, III. x.

[3] On the distinction between the two early persons bearing the name of Aristion or Ariston, see Chiappelli, *Nuova Antologia*, 1894, Jan. 161 ff.

us most valuable evidence as to a lacuna in the Markan text and how it was filled.[1] It would seem, then, that the incident of the women at the tomb (xvi. 1-8) was accepted, by this same body of witnesses, as belonging to the original text of the Gospel.

To put that conclusion into firmer terms, however, will cause us to overlook an altogether new consideration which these witnesses help to make clear. The possession of the shorter ending to Mark gives *Codex L* relations with the Sinai Fragments, with *k* in the Old Latin version, with the Syriac version through the margin of the Harklean text, with the Bohairic and Ethiopic versions. Again, the genera textual character of *Codex L* groups it with not onl *k*, but also *b*, *c*, *d*, *ff* and *i* in the Old Latin version. When these two sides of its manuscript connexion are brought together, we are bound to conclude tha it is not the possession of the shorter or longer endin to Mark that matters, but rather certain manuscrip conditions of the common origin of the textual an versional affinities of *Codex L*. This does not, c course, mean a common *scriptorium*: it mean simply a very primitive manuscript condition of th

[1] Add on the Greek side the seventh century Fragments found Mt. Sinai (Harris, *Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai*, 1890, Frag. 1 48-52; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1893, 96 ff.). In them the supe scriptive heading is lost for the shorter ending, but that to the long ending reads: εστιν δε και ταυτα φερομενα μετα το εφοβουντος γαρ. T endings occur in that order.

[2] Sanday in Wordsworth, Sanday and White, *Portions of the Gosp according to St. Mark and St. Matthew from the Bobbio MS.* (*k*) (*C Latin Biblical Texts*, ii. 1886), 116, 'in spite of all their divergences, ha after all a common origin.'

Gospels which precedes its geographical distribution as represented in the affinities of *Codex L.*

The most ancient of its manuscript connexions, *a* and *b*, retain the Gospels in their older order—namely, Matthew, John, Luke and Mark. In this they are supported on the Old Latin side by *ff*2, on the Greek side by *D*, *W* and *X*, and by the Bohairic and Gothic versions. They show us the text of the Gospels at two removes from the very primitive manuscript condition we seek. Let us call these the first and the scribal deformations of the Gospels. The first of these was when the scribe (or scribes) noticed that John lacked all the Resurrection matter and transferred the closing papyri leaves of Mark to John; and the second was when scribes began to fill in the Markan gap with the varying Resurrection material of Aristion and an opening incident (verses 1-8) modelled upon the accounts of Matthew and Luke. That these transferred papyri leaves contain Petrine reminiscences is written all over them; and that they are Roman appears to be as clear because they are bound together by an Ascension narrative which could have had birth only in Rome. Thus what was then the Second Gospel, and is now known as the Fourth, ended with a narrative of the Crucifixion.

B. *The Interpolated Material.*

The first note of interpolation is to be found in the Petrine material which has been appended to the Gospel and in the phrase: 'and to the other dis-

ciple whom Jesus loved.' If that is so, then the phrase is from the pen of a Johannist redactor. We must first find reasons why such a redactor should be thought to be at work on the text of the Gospel before we can turn that suggestion into a conclusion. And as the type of his work is discovered, so shall we be able to define where and how the Gospel ended.

It has been said already that the seventeenth chapter is the capital interpolation in the Gospel. What are the grounds of such a finding? The first is that it is an elaboration of a portion of the Ascension tradition used in the Gospel according to Luke. The Third Evangelist has recorded that Jesus led His disciples to the vicinity of Bethany, 'and he lifted up his hands unto Heaven, and blessed them' —*καὶ ἐπάρας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ* (*εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν* with *X*) *εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς*. The Fourth Evangelist is made to write: *καὶ ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν*. Thus the Lukan description of the attitude of Jesus in prayer is brought into line with the Johannine.[1] The second ground is in the contents of the prayer. Its ideas of glory and glorification are most evidently those which are to be associated with the attainment to the place and power in which, for instance, Stephen is said to have seen the ascended Lord.[2] The prayer itself tells us that it is a glory unto which Jesus is returning (xvii. 5). That it is His Ascension glory is made clearer as the prayer draws to an end. There Jesus is said to be occupied with a dual con-

[1] *E.g.* x. 41. [2] Acts vii. 55.

cept of oneness—the oneness of the Father and Himself and its glorious resumption is balanced by a oneness of the Son and His followers unto eternal life as they behold His glory. The *locale* of this ineffable splendour is extra-worldly, since it is introduced by a repetition of some words from the fourteenth chapter of the Gospel: 'that where I am they also may be with me.' The glorification of Jesus and His disciples depends then on His attainment of Ascension glory. The hour that has come is not Calvary, but the glory after the shame. The Crucifixion is behind Him, even as His ministry of revelation is accomplished: 'And now, O Father, glorify thou me with the oneness in glory I had with thee before the world was.'

Further, the many important verbs in past tenses agree in deciding that this is an Ascension document.[1] This conclusion affirms itself if we examine but one verse in the prayer. The twelfth verse reads: 'While I was with them, I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me: and I guarded them, and not one of them perished, save the son of perdition; that the scripture might be fulfilled.' The apparition of Judas, in this verse, as being actually

[1] Loisy, 440 ff., holds the view that c. xvii. represents a Eucharistic prayer. He compares it with the prayers in the *Didache* ix.-x. A careful comparison yields neither likeness in idea nor technique nor the possibility of discovering that Jesus in the Gospel has a rôle analogous with the prophet in the *Didache* who offers its Eucharistic prayers. Wetter, *Der Sohn Gottes*, 1916, 61, holds the idea that this chapter represents a Eucharistic prayer which had been used by an early Christian society. But it bears no marks of Eucharistic language or intention. Also there seems little need to look in the direction of Isis ritual as inspiration for the chapter's ideas of glory and glorification; cf. Kenyon and Bell, *British Museum Papyri*, i. 100 (121, 510 ff.), and Bauer, 196.

sundered from the disciples is enough to support the contention that the document can have significance only as it is put after the Crucifixion. Moreover, the phrase ' that the scripture might be fulfilled ' is a disciple's way of using the teaching-mode of the revelation of Jesus Christ [1] with the Hebrew writings which are chosen to serve that revelation. Jesus had His own way. The earliest Christians learnt from Him ; but that we should be able to distinguish the usage of the Lord from that of His followers, in a small but most important point of technique, is, as we shall find, a great help for the discrimination of original and interpolated matter in this Gospel.

Finally, the language of the seventeenth chapter is Johannine in the sense that it has been steeped in the vocabulary and ideas of the original Gospel and First Epistle of John. The term ' glory ' is a first illustration. It is a factor in the Prologue to the Gospel (i. 14), where it is set jewel-wise in a name for Jesus, ' the *Only-born-from-God*,' and does not represent a phase of Alexandrine Christology.[2] The writer of the prayer only makes Him turn again

[1] Burch, *Revelation*, 43 ; *infra*, p. 190 f.

[2] As *e.g.* Coulange, *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, 1913, 336 ff. Bauer, 22 ff., surrounds the term and the name with a rich series of literal analogies which are of the highest use to the student of the History of Religion, but they do not throw light upon the simple ways of making Jesus known through a series of names for Him—these names and their connotations are original to first century Christianity. Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit*, 1901, 30 ff., considers the prayer was written for a Christian church with an Alexandrine Christology. It is clear, however, that the document was not composed for any such church.

home to His glory. Now if the writer of the original Gospel was John, the disciple of Jesus Christ, that is just what he would not do. His authentic Epistle shows that his interest is absorbed in the historic Revealer and His revelation unto eternal life. He is so sure of the God of Life revealed in Him that the Resurrection or Ascension, as facts which could further attest His truth, have no influence on his thought. The disciple follows His Lord in this matter; for in the Gospel (xi. 25) it is the Person who is the Resurrection and the Life, and not the event with its cosmological accompaniments. Then the writer of the prayer must have been a Johannist; for though he is taken up with the Ascension, he integrates it in the Person, and the event of the Resurrection does not appear in his document.[1] A second illustration is in the writer's use of 'eternal life.' This is identical in idea and language with the First Epistle; indeed, so like is it that his third verse must have been based upon the words of the twentieth verse in the Epistle's fifth chapter. Another is in his use of the term 'world.'[2] It is profoundly imitative of the Johannine use, which, of

[1] The widespread opinion that the Fourth Gospel is the crown of the teaching of Paul has no foundation in the document itself. The large place that the event of the Resurrection plays in Paul's thought is contrary to the Fourth Gospel, and even to its editorial additions. Another illustration in support of the opinion is the alleged dependence of the Vine upon Paul's figure of the Body of Christ. The name and Pauline concept cannot be put in such an order of origin.

[2] It is to be noted that in xvii. 5, though the writer uses the same Greek word as in verse 6, the meaning of the word in the former verse has to do with the created scheme of things, whilst in the latter verse it carries the special meaning referred to in the text of this chapter.

course, is in harmony with the meaning the term gained from the revelation of Jesus Christ. That is to say, it stood for that world of ideas and practices which was contrary to the world of ideas and practices present in that revelation. Whether a Jewish or a Roman or a Greek or a Samaritan world, each was of the sort that was opposed to the world of the Revealer.[1] It is this concept of the world which should and can hold its sway in Christian thought on through the future history of mankind, since it will be opposed for ever to any other which embodies ideas and practices that disable the message and potencies unto life, for the personalities of human beings, of the God of Life who is revealed in Jesus Christ. The Johannist who writes the prayer borrows this 'world' from John, for it appears in his document with the accompanying Johannine turns of phrase. An example is to be noticed in the conjunction of 'world' and the Evil One (xvii. 15), which is the quintessence of what John says in his Epistle (ii. 15-22). Just so the conception of oneness in the prayer is an elaboration of the idea, both concerning Jesus and His society of disciples, as it is in the fourteenth chapter of the Gospel. We have but to follow the development of this concep-

[1] This is one of the reasons against the concept of c. xvii. held by Ménégoz, *Le Problème de la Prière*, 1925, 263 ff. He describes it as being 'the ripe fruit of Hebraic prayer.' The anti-Judaic qualities of the document which are chiefly in its terminology preclude such a valuation. And when the description is applied to the evidence of Jesus' own prayers, it is found to be even more inappropriate. Let it be understood that Jesus could never pray against a people or their 'ism.' What He does pray for is that His disciples should be kept from going back into those worlds of ideas and practices from which He has emancipated them.

tion in the prayer, and we find it issuing in the very language of that chapter. Perhaps more notable still is the fact that the writer of the prayer embellishes this citation with a reference (xvii. 24: 'that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me') which is almost a quotation of the Prologue to the Gospel (i. 14). Yet there is no sense of artificial mosaic-work in the prayer. The beautiful reverence of the Johannist would not permit him to make a merely literary document. The hold upon him of the idea of the Ascension is so deep that it would impel him to write a religious document. The power of this hold would seem to be illustrated finally in the very natural fusion of Johannine language and the twin-growth in his own mind of the idea of unity (in divine being and of the Lord and His disciples) and the idea of Ascension glory.

That this prayer was meant to have been spoken by Jesus before He ascended raises the question as to the exact meaning to be put into the conclusion that it is an interpolation. The Johannist would not have filled in the lack of Resurrection material in the original Gospel with this prayer. Had he done so it would have made a remarkable but unrelated addition to the Gospel which ended with the Crucifixion. There must have been an Ascension document which he could enlarge. Therefore the obvious suggestion to make is that the Johannist had before him a text of the Gospel which contained the transferred Markan material, and that he inserted his papyri leaves immediately after what is

now the twenty-third verse of the twentieth chapter. The deformations of the original text of John's Gospel, then, are three: The first was when the last papyri leaves of Mark's Gospel were transferred to John's Gospel; the second was when the Johannist redactor intruded his prayer into chapter twenty; and the third was when the papyri leaves containing this prayer were moved so as to become the seventeenth chapter—the impulse for this transference being an assumed likeness between its form and the contents of chapters fourteen to sixteen. Thus the Ascension prayer represents a major interpolation in the second stage of the text of the Gospel, and a major displacement in the third stage of that text.

The recovery of the true ending of Mark's Gospel, with the disclosure of its earliest textual conditions, brings us nearer to the finding of the end of John's Gospel. The latter designation has surely a right to frank usage. For a Johannist editor has been found intruding a document, with evident Johannine inspirations, into Petrine material. He has also left another distinct trace of his work in the phrase: 'and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved.' And in so doing he erased a Markan imprint, since it is probable that the original text of xx. 2 read: *πρὸς τὸν νέον μαθητήν* instead of *πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον μαθητήν*, and that the reference there was to Mark himself.[1] The change from *νέον* to *ἄλλον* was a small one, but it could mean the extrusion

[1] See Pallis *ad loc.* and on xviii. 15. To Pallis's arguments is added the discovery that the document in which the phrase comes is Markan.

of Mark from the Petrine material he had compiled, and the intrusion of John, by a follower, into Resurrection matter that he had not written down. It, too, permitted the addition of the phrase ὃν ἐφίλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, a self-conscious and parti-personal description which John himself would not have penned. His Epistle prevents us from believing that the phrase is in his style. Its occurrence in this vagrant ending of Mark is, however, of supreme importance for the establishment on fresh grounds of the authorship, by John the disciple, of the original Gospel. A Johannist had no reason for bringing Petrine material into harmony with the Gospel, unto which it had become attached, but this one: that the Gospel was John's. Nor had he any other reason when he enlarged the Roman narrative of the Ascension with a prayer in Johannine terms. This time of the attachment of papyri leaves from Mark to the end of John is a time too early for the deliberate interpolation of Johannistic material into a document which might have had any other name but John's.[1] What was done then demands the most simple and natural explanation. Those demands would appear to be fulfilled when we see that the Johannist had tried to impress his exemplar a little more deeply on his own Gospel and very plainly and profoundly on its attached Petrine material. In the Gospels he tries to make what is John's to be more patently his, and in the Petrine material he will not allow Peter

[1] For other reasons regarding the authorship of John the disciple, see Nolloth, *The Fourth Evangelist*, 1925, 37 ff.; Nunn, *The Son of Zebedee and the Fourth Gospel* (1927).

and Mark to participate primarily in the incidents of the Resurrection. There was no feeling for rival reputations in the latter deed, since the redactor was merely making the Markan ending to suit John's Gospel.

There are two small features in chapters twenty and twenty-one to be examined before we can turn back to chapter nineteen to find what was done to filiate the authentic end of John's Gospel to the Petrine material, and what, indeed, was the end of that Gospel. The two features are: the expanded reference to the disciple whom Jesus loved (xxi. 20 ff.) and the colophonal verses to the two chapters (xx. 30-31, xxi. 24). The expanded reference spoils the incident of the testing of Peter's devotion. It is so lavishly self-conscious as to demonstrate that another must have written it of John: and the little tale is so manifestly the link between the last words of the Petrine incident and the colophonal verse: 'This is the disciple which beareth witness of these things and wrote these things: and we know that his witness is true,' as to tell us that in it we have the work of a Johannist. Thus the Gospel of Mark closed with the simple and majestic command of Jesus: 'Follow me.'[1] It began in that way, and

[1] The omission of *ἀκολουθοῦντα* (xxi. 20) by *Cod. Sin.* and *ff* 2, for instance, may mean early scribal feeling against the authenticity of the story, or evidence of a strain of text in which the verb was not. If this latter opinion could be true, then the last filiating factor would be broken, since it would mean that the verb was made from *ἀκολούθει* of verse 19. Pallis and Venema have conjectured that *οὐκ* has been dropped in verse 20 (*οὐκ ἀκ.*). The conjecture does not seem to be needed if the artificiality of *ἀκ.* is recognised.

Simon left his nets to learn how to catch men. It should end in the same way, because Simon Peter is then beginning to learn what exquisite patience and art is required of one of Christ's fishers for men.

What remains to be pointed out, in this twenty-first chapter, is that the colophonal or twenty-fourth verse is the work of the Johannist redactor, and that it is based on the wording of the true end of John's Gospel. Further, that its colophonal companion (xx. 30-31) is also his work, but is composed of Johannine formulae which are scattered over the First Epistle of John. What, then, was the true end of John's Gospel? It is suggested that it closed with the words which are now the thirty-fifth verse of the nineteenth chapter: 'And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe.'

Two potent critical helps come out from the discovery of the ending of Mark's Gospel in the appended chapters twenty and twenty-one: we are able to trace the filiative work of the Johannist editor, and to descry his formula to the Old Testament proofs he uses for incidents in the life of Jesus Christ through the expansion he made of the Markan narrative of the Ascension. The first help yields the actual end of the Gospel, and will enable us to excise certain material from the text of the Gospel contained in or clustered about the phrase: 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.' The second help will yield a discriminating faculty to determine what was John's account of the Crucifixion.

It will be recalled that in the Ascension prayer the Johannist uses the formula : ' that the scripture might be fulfilled ' when he introduces a *testimonium* for the loss of Judas Iscariot. This is plainly responsible for much interpolated matter in chapter nineteen. It is attached to the incident of the rending of the robes of Jesus (xix. 24) ; to that of the thirst of Jesus (xix. 28) ; to that of the treatment of the crucified (xix. 36 and 37). Moreover, it brings into the text of the Crucifixion narrative its pendant Old Testament proofs. These and the formula are evidently the work of the Johannist redactor. In the incidents of the rending of the robes and of the treatment of the crucified they can be removed with ease ; and by their removal leave the simple historical statement of the soldiers' doings with the robes, and of what was done to the dead as they hung on their crosses. More than this, their removal from the second incident leaves the end of the Gospel clear-cut and noble. The Gospel is not an *Apology* for Jesus Christ. John's care, as his Epistle tells us, is for the historic Revealer and His revelation. It is that Jesus Christ he records in his Gospel.

The other intrusion into the nineteenth chapter of the formula and its *testimonium* leaves some ragged edges when it is removed from the incident of the thirst of Jesus. That incident as it stands here has no corroboration in the other Gospels. If now that incident is excised, together with the formula and its *testimonium*, there is left a piece of narrative whose

simplicity enforces its own truth and majesty: 'And after this Jesus, knowing that all things are now finished, bowed his head and gave up his spirit.'[1] The Johannist has interpolated John with matter from other evangelical tradition to which he has given his own setting.[2]

One feature of the nineteenth chapter remains to be discussed, the incident of Mary and John (xix. 25-27).[3] It bears the marks of the Johannist, for it is one of the instances of his work which has the phrase: 'the disciple whom he loved.' And, too, it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that it was introduced to counterbalance the putting aside of Mary by Jesus at Cana of Galilee, as if she was a representative of that tissue of religious and social Judaism[4] from which He and His disciples had to excise themselves. As a Johannist he may have mistaken the use that John made of Love in his Epistle. It was a mistake quite easy to make if he, with many later students of John's mind, had forgotten that this disciple of Jesus had learnt from Him that the selfless love of His brethren goes hand in

[1] Cf. Mt. xxvii. 50, Mk. xv. 37.

[2] On the question whether from the *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* were created the last recorded sayings of Jesus, see my view in Harris and Burch, *Testimonies*, ii. 68 ff. Perhaps that will have to be altered. For when it is considered that a compilation in Hebrew of *Testimonia* or *Logia* was made by Matthew, then it is possible that the cry from Ps. xxii. 1 (Mt. xxvii. 46, Mk. xv. 34, but unrecorded by Lk.) was intruded from that source in the first simple narrative of the Crucifixion.

[3] The incident of Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38 ff.) is evidently a piece of literary infilling between the end of the Gospel and the opening of the appended Markan material.

[4] If she had been Greek or Roman or Samaritan the same excision would have had to be made.

hand with the appreciation of the sword-like qualities of His revelation. There are other possible grounds for the opinion that this incident is not a historical one.[1] Those which are stated here for the first time do serve to rid us of complex views of the editorial treatment of the text of the Gospel, since they unite with the naive impulses which produced that papyrus stage of the text a little while after the last leaves of Mark had been transferred to the Second Gospel which was John, according to the primitive order.

The difficulties of the Johannist editor are to be associated with what was not Johannine, and not with what was John's. For the original text of the Gospel bears but few marks of his pen. *First*, there is one other interpolation of the phrase: 'whom Jesus loved' (xiii. 23). In contrast with it is to be noticed John's shy and delicate reference to himself unto which that phrase had been added: 'There was at the table reclining in Jesus' bosom one of His disciples.' John allows the relationship between his Lord and himself to peep out once in the Gospel. The Johannist appears to have been eager that posterity should know the fact, and so added his phrase with its rather heavy emphasis. *Second*, there are several which come from the editor's preoccupation with the concepts of 'glory' and 'glorification.' For instance, vii. 39 and xiii. 31b-32, where those concepts are joined with post-Ascension considerations; or xii. 16, where again those con-

[1] Cf. *e.g.* Bauer, 217; Pallis, 43.

cepts are joined with post-Ascension reflexions on the part of the disciples ; or xii. 41,[1] where he makes Isaiah to see the ' glory ' and gives the doublet of his formula for *testimonia*. *Third*, the editor's knowledge of the *Testimonia* method and his use of it comes out in i. 41, where he glosses the title Messiah with the true name from the revelation of Jesus, *i.e.* Christ, and in i. 42, where Simon is named ' son of the Stone '[2] from the same source ; or in iv. 22 : ' Ye worship that ye know not : we worship that we know : for Salvation is out of the Jews '—a sudden break into a plural reference, in the course of Christ's conversation with the Samaritan woman and its accompanying comment, demands that the verse should be excised from the text as an editorial reflexion, and one which is to be understood only as the term Salvation is given a capital letter and then recognised as a synonym for the name *Soter*, which is one of the greater names for Jesus created by His teaching-mode. Then in a broadly allusive way, ii. 21-22 ;[3] and in the par-

[1] The preceding verses from xii. 36b-40 are also from the Johannist's pen ; 36b imitates xi. 54, and seems to have been inspired by his desire to meet the stated fact in verses 42 and 43 ; whilst from this last verse he got the impulse to add his view of Christ's glory.

[2] Cf. Burch, 125 ff.

[3] The received text of ii. 19 seems to ensure the loss of the point of Jesus' saying. Surely Jesus said : ' Destroy this temple, for in three days I will rise.' Compare, for the last phrase, Ignatius of Antioch, *Ep. ad Smyrn.* ii. The Slav versions of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. 2. 5, have preserved a more Judaised rendering of ii. 19 than that of the received text. It is a notable occurrence, for the *Jewish War* was written a little after the year 70, and it is a rendering of a piece from John's Gospel. The point of the narrative in which this saying is a factor concerns the overthrow of the Jewish religion. The temple is but its outstanding symbol. From Christ's point of view His triumph is the defeat of all old-world religions.

ticularising manner of his formula, xii. 14-15 and xii 37-41 and xiii. 18c-19 and xviii. 9.[1] *Fourth* the Johannist's regard for the terms water and blood in the First Epistle of John [2] caused him to edit the story of Nicodemus, to interpolate iv. 1-2, which so flatly denies Jesus' own work of baptism into the Spirit, and to intrude that most realistic piece concerning the flesh and blood of the Son of Man (vi. 51b-57) so as to shatter the expression of the thought of Jesus.[3] *Fifth*, this editor has inserted three tiny pieces of interpretation: (1) x. 6-7a is an error in interpretation on his part and breaks up the thought of Jesus; (2) ix. 7, 'which is by interpretation, Sent,' was conceivably put for Greek readers (3) vi. 1, 'which is of Tiberias' (and again in xxi. 1) is not only geographically interesting, but even more so chronologically in that the name Tiberias did not come into use till the early part of the second century [4]—and thus we have an almost exact sign of

[1] xv. 25 appears to have a touch from his pen in the words 'that the word may be fulfilled that.' Following the example of x. 34, the verse ought to read 'But as it is written in your law, They hated me without a cause.' With the term *νόμος* in this verse cf. Barnabas, *Ep.* ii. 6, 'the new law (*νόμος*) of our Lord Jesus Christ'; Tertullian, *Adversus Judaeos*, 3: 'nova lex,' *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, xiii.: 'exinde praedicasse novam legem'; Cyprianic *Test.* i. 10: 'Quod lex nova dari haberet.' Jesus sums up Jewish teaching in the phrase 'your law.' Paul follows Him, as can be seen in the Galatians. Jesus is the inspirer and perhaps the original user of the *Testimonia* description of 'new law.' —that is, Christ's revelation in comparison with Judaism.

[2] *E.g.* c. v.

[3] The editor here also shatters the temporal reference of the Gospel by intruding the Passover in verse 4. This he did to lend support to the 51b-57 interpolation.

[4] Furrer, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1902, 261; cf. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 2. 2.

the redactor's date. His hand and date, then, are discoverable by candid tests.[1]

C. *The Displaced Material*

The seventeenth chapter of the Gospel represents both displacement and interpolation. We have seen how it came into possession of its present position. This raises an altogether fresh view of the term displacement as it ought to be applied to the material of John's Gospel. Hitherto it has meant such material which did not occupy a position similar to that given it in the first three Gospels. But as we have had to find that the historical material in this very early document is disposed according to its own aims, and structurally on a much broader chronological plan than in the other Gospels. We must not go back to them to find if this or that is in the same position of what looks like to be one of common agreement in them, but we shall have to time and test the disposition of their material by John's. Therefore the term displacement here will mean the shifting of any portion of the text of the Gospel from the position it held at the time that the Ascension prayer was moved so as to become a soliloquy in the Upper Room.

These displacements are not many. 1. In chapter

[1] Bousset, *Theologische Rundschau*, 1909, 41 ff.; *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1912, iii. 617 ff., for example, traces some of the above interpolations to a glossator. But his view of the Gospel does not permit him to trace out these and many more in any way but an arbitrary one. This conclusion applies also to other efforts such as Wellhausen, *Erweiterungen* (1907), *Das Evangelium Johannis* (1908); Schwartz, *Nachrichten Gesell. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1908, 122 ff.; Garvie, *The Beloved Disciple, Studies in the Fourth Gospel* (1922); Bauer, *op. cit.*; Carpenter, 222 ff; Windisch, *Johannes und die Synoptiker*, 1926, 55 ff, 83.

three, verses 31 to 36 should follow verse 15; for there they gather themselves into the texture of the thought and words of Jesus, whilst where they now stand severs them from that texture. 2. In chapter ten, a more serious instance occurs. For verses 1 to 5 and 7b to 18 (which now make one harmonious piece by the removal of the interpolation 6-7a) should be given what was clearly their original place —that is, after verse 28. This again is self-attesting, because with this jointure the thought of Jesus concerning the Father can reach its natural climax in verses 29 and 30. 'That which my Father hath given is more precious than all, and none is able to snatch aught from the Father's hand' may recapture its first meaning; for what is more precious, even than the sheep of Christ's fold, is the very self or being of Christ. 3. In chapter eighteen, verses 13 to 25 are disarranged. This means the slighter form of displacement. It is clear that 13 should be followed by 24; and the narrative after that verse should run as follows: verses 14 and 15, 19 to 23, 16 ff. Some evidence that this displacing of the narrative has gone on is to be seen, in the received text, where the scribe has had to repeat the unnecessary binding phrase about Peter standing and warming himself in verses 18 and 25. It is important to observe that the original order is upheld by *Codex Syr. Sin.*,[1] and also, it seems most likely, by such an excellent Old Latin witness as *Codex e*.[2]

[1] Cf. Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, 1898, 59; Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, 1911, ii. 2, 435.

[2] Turner, *J.T.S.*, 1901, 141 f.

4. In chapter fourteen, verse 31 closes with the words : ' Arise, let us go hence.' Now, if chapters fifteen and sixteen do record the veritable conversations in the Upper Room, that command must belong to the close of what Jesus was there saying to His disciples. When it is noticed how the words are coupled with that portion of the fourteenth chapter which runs from verses 25 to 31—a short piece disrelated from what has been said and what is to be said in chapter fifteen—and how that this fits exactly and naturally to the close of chapter sixteen, we shall have found the first reason for calling that portion a displacement. And the second reason why it should be restored to its original place manifests itself at once : this transfer enables the words and ideas of Jesus to have their gradual and lovely development till the close with His most comforting Peace. This is the grace by which His disciples and we may cross the bridge over the Kidron.

These, with chapter seventeen, make up the displaced material of the Gospel. They present no reason of doctrine nor motive of a churchly kind why they should have been moved. There was no art used in moving them. They gain their places in the same insensitive way with which the Ascension prayer was made to have been uttered in the Upper Room. This is the work of a scribe. And when it is recognised that the authorities for these displacements are very old, the conclusion seems irresistible that their errant positions are due to the insensitiveness of one scribe, and that he is the creator of the third papyrus stage of the text of the Gospel.

VII

SOME CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE STRUCTURE, CHARACTER AND DATE OF THE ORIGINAL GOSPEL

A. *Structure of the Gospel*

IT is not possible to accept any opinion on this Gospel in which its structure is determined by the alleged character of the whole document. That hitherto has been a commonplace of its criticism, either because of something Clement of Alexandria or Origen said or because of the supposed sway of the *Logos* philosophy or because of its isolation by pressure from Synoptic criticism. What is true in the present investigation asserts the opposite opinion: the structure of the Gospel must determine its character. Now the structure of any writing of note is one of its most individual features. And each feature which has such distinctive quality can be disclosed and appraised only from the writing itself. We may not say that John records an incident at a point where the Synoptics do not, therefore it is a displacement; nor argue that the Synoptics record what John does not, therefore it is an omission; nor agree that the Logia of Jesus in the Synoptics are as different as can be from the Logia

in John, therefore they represent a process of moralisation or of philosophical rehandling. For the valid notion of a displacement in a historical work concerns the moving of any of its material from its original position to another ; and what the word omission stands for is the choice a historian makes among the material for his book, and also that what has been so long ascribed to the Johannine point of view or to the remoulding energy of Greek philosophy ought rather to have been put to the account of a much simpler process—namely, the work of the translator from Aramaic into Greek.[1] These are some of the views concerning the Gospel which take shape solely by work upon it ; and these, too, are they which help to disclose its structure. The one result a critic can and ought to get from a comparison between Mark and John is that these are two different documents. He could reach the same result by comparing John with Mark the Deacon's *Life of Porphyry of Gaza.* Such methods bring little or no illumination. They can lead as well to the casting of a veil over the inherent qualities of a writing, so that its great subject moves in the darkness of a negative conclusion, or is evaluated in accord with some foreign influence which the exemplar says ' is not in me but is in you.' These are not results in interpretation, but from a shallow

[1] On the general question of an Aramaic original for the Gospel, see Burney's book and Torrey, *Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1923, also Hoskier, *Manuscripts of the Apocalypse—Recent Investigations*, 1924, v. 29 ff. For some criticisms of this view, McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, 1927, 278.

comparative study of literature. We do not come in that manner to understand the structure of this book.

There are, then, two capital influences which throw us back upon the study of the Gospel itself: 1. The removal of *Logos* rehandling from its presentation of Jesus Christ; 2. The disclosure of structure which is natural to itself. These two influences blend in a fresh claim for the historicity of Jesus Christ and of the Gospel which is a *Vita Christi*. We have endeavoured to demonstrate the first influence: we must now bring into sharper relief the second of them. Professor Turner's important conclusion concerning the chronology of the Gospel must be the starting-point for any such reconstructive work.

This conclusion, it will be recalled, marked out the Gospel of John from the other three Gospels for 'its careful enumeration of six notes of time, five of them Jewish festivals, between the Baptism and the Crucifixion'; secondly, that thus in it is a precision of recollection which is lacking in the Synoptics; and, thirdly, that the Johannine precision was meant to set right erroneous impressions from the earlier evangelical narratives.[1] The first two of its points are those which should compose our starting-point. For the third is one which arises, not so much from the study of the Gospel's chronology, as from the current criticism of the Gospel whose axiom is its very late date.

[1] For Turner's opinion, see *supra*, p. 64.

The chronological precision of this Gospel is even greater than the above conclusion maintains. For it has nine clearly marked notes of time, and each precisely certified by connexions with the Jewish Festal Calendar. And as if to make sure that His dates and the Calendar should be read together, we find that the maintenance of this unity means much for an understanding of how the Gospel was composed. For when we determine its temporal framework, we also lay bare the essentials of its literary structure. The nine notes are as follows :

1. Passover,	c. ii.	April.
2. Day of Atonement,	c. iii.	October.
3. New Year,	c. v.	April.
4. Tabernacles,	c. vii.	October.
5. Dedication,	c. viii.	December.
6. Dedication,	c. x.	December
7. Day of Atonement,	c. xi.	October.
8. Pre-Passover,	c. xii.	April.
9. Passover,	c. xiii.	April.

The scheme of the short years of Christ's public life is filled in when the necessary interspatial days are indicated, on the authority of the Gospel. These are:

Before 1. Certain time of ministry subsequent to baptism.

Between 2 and 3.	*Periods of Ministry outside Judaea.*	= Six months.
Between 3 and 4.		= Six months.
Between 4 and 5.		= Two months.
Between 6 and 7.		= Nine months.
Between 7 and 8.		= Five months.

With the recognition that John hurries over the opening of the public work of Jesus to record His first Passover-tide, the temporal plan of the three years can be seen in which He lived and spoke His revelation.

It requires but a glance at the first of these tabular statements, when the memory is full of what the Gospel contains, to demonstrate the truth of the finding that this chronology opens out the Gospel's fundamental literary structure. John is concerned to record the Judaean ministry of Jesus. For there the Revealer and His revelation were seen against the background of the Jewish festivals. John also exercises care to record the extra-Judaean ministry of Jesus. He does that, as a most brilliant etcher might draw his masterpiece, with four great strokes of his pen. Because there is such economy of draughtsmanship in the Gospel, we must not conclude that he created a hero and put him on a stage of heroic scale in Jerusalem.[1] Jesus must needs go to Jerusalem. It was the one place where He had to manifest Himself. The narrative of John is controlled, as was Jesus Christ, by the exigencies of the revelation. What holds him in Jerusalem is not different from that which controls his narrative when he turns to Samaria or Bethany. For the remarkable energy that is in those four incidents,

[1] An opinion has been held that this Gospel was written to bring Jesus out of the obscurity of Galilee and place Him on a city stage, *e.g.* Wrede, *Charakter und Tendenz des Johannesevangeliums*, 1903, 48 ff. This misses the meaning of the structure of both the Synoptics and John. This is a problem I shall resume in my book on the first three Gospels.

to force upon the mind the grace and power of Christ's extra-Judaean ministry, is due not to the working of wonders but to the revealing of God. What, then, is the structural reason why there is so much of work in Jerusalem and so little of work in the regions outside? In the city, He and His revelation overthrow the ancient world of religion: in the country, He and His revelation can show how they seek men and women. In Jerusalem, the principles of His teaching must exhibit their devastating qualities: in Galilee, the Revealer shows them at their work of most profound healing and readjustment in human personalities.[1] He is the same in city and in village. For within the deeds of revelation which are judgments He reveals the Father who would have all men come unto Him, and within the manifestations of the love of the true God is always His abrogative energy. The first reason why this Gospel gives large place to the Judaean ministry is dictated by the facts of Revealer and revelation. And the second reason why is controlled by the practical necessity of presenting Him and it after the manner of Jesus Himself. John was writing history.

John's historical work is that of a chronicler. He

[1] It is most difficult to understand how Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, 1911, 227 f., can judge 'the Johannine Christ' to be 'positively repellent' in the style of His discourse, except by his having first composed a 'Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels' from whom has been excised the right to have any sort of ideas or expression which could 'exasperate the Jews.' The Jesus of John never 'exasperates the Jews.' He reveals the Truth to them. And to produce the Jesus of Burkitt's view from the Synoptics would mean that the first three Gospels must be cut down. An eschatological Jesus would not placate the Jews overmuch.

had not to fit structure and time together. They were fused already for him in the things which Jesus said and did. John had but to put them down. For if one conclusion more sure than another is to be drawn from the whole of the foregoing investigation, it is this : that the interior union of time and ideas, whether in short or long discourse, is of that fundamental order which demands that its origin was in the revelation of Jesus Christ, and could not be from any other mode or source of composition. This judgment does not yet cover the problem of the differences between the Logia of Jesus in John and in the other Gospels. For the moment, it may be said that the conclusion can cover this problem as its solution will show. If it is true that no other solution for the origin of the discourses is possible than that of the above conclusion, then the question whether in John there are authentic Logia of Jesus has in almost full measure found its answer. To complete that answer, however, we must be able to offer fresh reasons why there are certain differences in form between the contrasted Logia. These will appear in their proper place. We must go back to John as a historian. He has to record the Revealer and not to create Him—that is his first historical duty or quality.

His second characteristic as a historian has to do with the selection of events. The coincidence of literary structure and festal chronology have relieved him from exercising a complete sense of choice between this event or that in the ministry of Jesus.

The main events in the Gospel have chosen themselves. What John did was to choose that the episodes at the festal periods should not be repeated.[1] The Cleansing of the Temple is an illustration of this point. It was a repeated act on the part of Jesus, and not a culminating act of His which drew the wrath of the Jews—as many critics affirm when explaining the incident from its place in the other Gospels. But that does wrong to the four Gospels, and is against an understanding of the ways of the revelation of Jesus Christ. He had to repeat Himself. Both the cycle of the festivals and of the cardinal things in His teaching would ensure those repetitions. The Gospels give us a great many more than one glimpse of Jesus' clear understanding

[1] A good deal of difficulty has been caused in the past concerning this question of repeated incidents or acts of Jesus, because the simple reason why Jesus should repeat anything has not been found, or the equally simple and practical sanction for repetition has not been sought. The demands of the revelation of Jesus create both reason and sanction, as I have shown *supra*, p. 66 ff. Therefore such repetitions do not raise a problem for the making of a *Harmony of the Gospels*, but the *Harmony* raises the problem that it is insensitive to the demands of the revelation. Hengstenberg, *Das Evangelium des heiligen Johannes*, i. 156 ff., tries to fit a cleansing of the Temple at the beginning and the close of Christ's ministry (cf. Jackson, 54. 8, for other attempts of the same sort). But Hengstenberg is working out a problem set by Tatian, and is careless of the process of Christ's revelation. Again, it is Tatian, rather than the demands of the revelation of Jesus Christ and the repetitive process of the Jewish festal year, who has caused critics to conclude that John has transposed the incident of the cleansing from the end to the beginning of the ministry of Jesus—*e.g.* Wendt, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1900, 32 ff.; Loisy, 152 ff.; Bauer, 47; Goguel, *Introduction*, II. 271 ff. Further, critical opinion ought not to conclude that the Johannine account is of a more primitive kind than the Synoptic account of the cleansing; therefore the incident should come at the beginning rather than the end of Christ's ministry. It may prove to be the more primitive account, but its place in the Gospel of John should be governed by the practical necessities of the revelation; cf. *e.g.* Sanday, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 613 ff.; Calmes, *L'évangile selon saint Jean*, 1904, 178.

of the great law of teaching, which is to repeat. The recovery of this simple fact will not only help us to understand Him, but it will also throw some light on the composition of the other Gospels. John, then, did exercise selection among the events he recorded, for he excludes from the Gospel the repeated deeds of the Revealer at the festival periods.

The nicety of his sense of choice manifests itself in the illustrative incidents he includes in the Gospel from the extra-Judaean ministry of Jesus. Four incidents from twenty-eight months' work seems a sparse gleaning. It is so if the sheaves are counted. When their quality is examined in the light of the great things in Christ's revelation, then it must be granted that John has made the superlatively inevitable selection. Again, a stickler for the perfect working of the selective faculty can urge that in these four instances the process of self-selection had gone on. And the argument would have truth in it. They are most luminous examples of the Revealer's work; and being such, they would have the right to inclusion in the Gospel. But John is recording what he had seen. Therefore it will be truer to say that these incidents were selected because they were outstanding illustrations of phases of the revelation other than those presented to men in Jerusalem.

Thus the simple plan of the Gospel shows itself as soon as Jesus is allowed to speak His own message.[1] Then we find it to be, *first*, a record of the chief

[1] Cf. the opinion of the late Dr. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, 1917, 12, ' enshrines a genuine tradition of an aspect of Jesus' teaching which has not found a place in the Synoptics.'

things said and done in Jerusalem. This record has a dual attestative power, by time and content. For incident and speech on the part of Jesus find their impulses unto revelation in the process of the Jewish year, so closely inwrought are chronology and the contrasted teaching of the Revealer in the main structure of the Gospel. And, *second*, it is a record of the ministry of Jesus outside Judaea. This record is organically one with that of His ministry in Jerusalem. For its mastery of sparse outline and its inevitability of episodic choice are the results of the quality of its material to illustrate other phases of the revelation than those made known to the vast concourses of people in the city at festival-time.

This simple and organic structure of the Gospel has a beginning and an end which are not concerned with either the Judaean or extra-Judaean ministry of Jesus. They are very necessary to the historical scheme of the Gospel. John could not omit an account of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus. History makes her imperious claim to write the close of the Gospel. The same august claimant rules that the narrative of the Baptist should precede the opening of Jesus' ministry. Let us recall how the Revealer dominates this Gospel. What other preface could it have than the record of the Baptist's intuitive realisation both of the significance of Jesus and of his own supersession as the last of the Hebrew prophets? The same hand, which gave us the extra-Judaean ministry of Jesus in four great strokes of his pen, depicts the Baptist and the things which

are passing away with the same direct austerity of method. There was no reason why he should imagine such a preface. The Baptist bore his witness. He passes from the Gospel.[1] Thereafter the historian's duty was to write down the record of Jesus Christ and His revelation. An accomplished Hebraist, whose work on the Old Testament has lent a too large authority to his books on the Gospels, complains: 'John the Baptist merely drops into Eternity.' That is just where he should go. For the Gospel is the record of the One who came to abrogate the ancient world of ideas and practices, and to win such a man as the Baptist was.

The whole plan of the Gospel has been accounted for save its opening words, which are known as the Prologue. Thus it goes before the Baptist narrative. We have seen how that it can be so treated as to make it a document separable from the rest of the Gospel's text—as if it had been a quasi-philosophical statement attached by a later hand, or was the philosophical key to a Gospel composed in behalf of the *Logos*-Christ. Either view makes it a document separable from the succeeding narratives. To get at what it means depends very much on how we

[1] It would be a fantastic opinion to hold that the writer of John's Gospel has suppressed the powerful figure of the Baptist in the interest of his picture of Jesus Christ, because the Mandaean literature depicts a John the Baptist who suppresses Jesus and His followers; cf. *e.g.* *Johannes-Buch*, 103. 12ff., and *supra*, Chap. I.; Bauer, 28f. But surely that opinion is not more fanciful than the view which holds that the Baptist in this Gospel was drawn as a foil to the *Logos*-Christ, Loisy, 107. The opening of Jn. iv. 1-3 we have seen to be an interpolation; therefore the other equally fanciful view, that matter concerning the conflicts of the Baptist's and Jesus' disciples has been left out, need not be commented upon.

separate it from the rest of the Gospel, or rather on how we unite it with the body of the Gospel. Thus the two classes of opinion which have been mentioned, and they appear to dominate Johannine studies, do deny to it certain of its textual characteristics—and these serve to define what is the Prologue's destination. For example, the Prologue is bound by delicate filaments to the other matter in the first chapter of the Gospel. These are alive, and bind together opening words and following incidents, as the silken threads of the root of a plant bind into one the green leaves and the soil. The same man wrote the Prologue and the succeeding episodes of the Gospel. Their filamental relationships are enough to prove that. When fresh analysis is brought to bear on Prologue and Gospel, we are led to see that not only are its roots in the whole of the document to which it is a beginning, but that its seed is in the revelation of Jesus Christ. The Prologue has grown there because of the Evangelist's understanding of the Revealer. The alphabetic names Jesus created to carry Himself into lowly lives and the teaching-mode of His revelation, which informed parts of the Old Testament and Sapiential writings with His unthought glory, are the creators of its ideas and language. John puts what he has learnt from Jesus in His own words at the head of his Gospel. He does not impose on his Lord what he is credited with having learnt from the philosophical schools of Alexandria. There is, then, no potent reason why we should seek the hour of

the Prologue's creation in the last decades of the first century, since all its features challenge us to find their filiations with the essential motives and agencies of Christ's revelation. The Revealer creates the Prologue: John does not create an Alexandrian Christ by means of a prologue. It is, with the colophon, the only piece of John in the Gospel. The Prologue is a piece of his work, however, only by his choice of the position it occupies in the Gospel. The colophon is his by composition and choice of position. For in the Prologue the essential structure of the document could be said to be given a voice—not the voice of a writer's intentions, but the voice of his great subject who has subdued author and structure unto Himself. The words fell from Jesus' lips. Their ability to adapt themselves to all the names He gave Himself prove that only He could have devised so simple and capable an instrument to tell men who He was. For the words which compose it were chosen by Jesus to serve His revelation and to supply a group of His names. And this instrument works with the same practical feeling for the difficulties of human beings, had they to do with a new and large language of religion, as Jesus shows in His conversations during His last Passovertide. Then He used those pieces from Sapiential writings, to ease His disciples' understanding of His words, by making them yield new names for Himself. In the Prologue He uses them so that all His names can in turn be fitted into it.[1] John will

[1] See *supra*, p. 24 ff.

have put the Baptist in the midst of the Prologue—not to silence him, but to charm his intuition into faith. John's portion in the Prologue was to have encircled the Baptist with some words of Jesus; then he is actually heard but once in the whole of the Gospel, and in its closing words: 'And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe.'

B. *Character of the Gospel*

The character of this Gospel is declarative. It does in writing what one of the first messengers of Christ would do in words—it declares the chief things of the Revealer and His revelation. The influence of the messenger's personality in preaching would be large. For his sense of form in address, his individual emphasis among the things of the revelation and his mental powers of apprehension would be among the factors to shape what he said. The sermons recorded in the Acts are illustrations of the moulding qualities of personality. Such influence would also be very large on the written records of the life and work of Jesus Christ, if the writer held a theory of how history ought to be written, or a philosophy of religious history, or was a theologian with a bias. But if he wrote true history, and set himself to record what he had seen and heard of the message of life for men, then the differences between him, and any other Evangelist with this proper discipular outlook, would be in what his eyes and ears

most readily responded to. Over both messenger and Evangelist was the sway of the Revealer. The man remained the same with his own sensitive or insensitive eyes and ears, quick or slow brain to seize principles, docile or indocile opinions to the call of the new that they should excise themselves from the old world. John was an apt pupil. His Gospel and Epistle exhibit that the man and the historian were unusually and sensitively alive to describe and understand the historic Jesus Christ unto whom he was a disciple. These things account in broad terms for the character of the Gospel.

This character is the result of the Gospel's structure. It is not a spiritual robe which a writer may have put upon a plan, for his book, that was not his own. We have seen the unity of festal chronology and great hours in the work of revealing God to men, and how that unity yields the chief structural feature of the Gospel. The procession of the festivals causes Jesus to declare the antithetic truths of the Father. What He declared then, and on four representative occasions in His extra-Judaean ministry, that the Evangelist declares after Him. Thus we come to understand what is the peculiar quality of the Gospel's declarative character. It consists in a faithful retelling of the principles and ideas of the revelation of Jesus. That also was the work of the first century. And Christianity is just the retelling of those great truths in such a manner that they remain in harmony with the other side of the method of the Revealer, which was that what He revealed

in word He affirmed in being. This Gospel keeps the two sides together with such conspicuous skill, because it is a brilliantly careful and direct record of what Jesus was and said.

It is sometimes argued that as the Gospel has no eschatology, therefore it must be a late document. Both points in this argument are inaccurate. The Gospel has in it the eschatology of Jesus, and it is a very early document. We have composed our formal view of an eschatologist, who carries Jewish Apocalyptic a stage higher in conception and ends, and we have called it Jesus the Galilean. Whereas the text of the other Gospels could have told us that the historic Jesus Christ had subjected Apocalypticism to be one of the verbal servants of His revelation.[1] Therein it was an idiomatic agent, and not the creative controller of His mind. Matthew and Luke most clearly indicate this where, for instance, their accounts put on His lips long apocalyptical utterances. To have known this would have helped us to understand John's Gospel. Therein Jesus declares the end of the ancient world of religion in each of His acts as Revealer. That great principle of His revelation, Anti-cultism, is essentially eschatological—in Jesus' sense and use of the Last Things. For in Him came God and the truth of God. Where they come the End is revealed. This Gospel sets out that message with its own remarkable directness. The principle is every-

[1] The evidence for this statement will be given in my book on the Apocalypse of John.

where in its pages. And in the course of His conversation in the Upper Room, for example, Jesus sets that principle in the timeless context of the activities of God, by telling His disciples of His coming and judgment at Pentecost. That is exactly what the other Gospels have to tell us. John portrays this with less circumstance, because he has seized the principle more lucidly than they. The objective creation of a prophet, whose message is the end of the world as it is, is an inversion of the facts of Jesus as Revealer. Instead of that figure being the resultant of the scientific study of the Gospels, it is the outcome of a process which talmudises Jesus. He uses in speech and deed the eschatology of God ; and He is never immersed in Jewish eschatology, but masters it so that a part of its language becomes another vehicle of expression for the meanings with which He invades the words. The Gospel of John has apprehended this eschatological principle in such a vivid declarative manner, we can be sure that its presentation was written very near to the time of the One whose history it is.

There are two other features to be examined before this characterisation of the Gospel is complete : the first of these concerns the validity of the idea that the message of Jesus developed during His ministry—that is a big intellectual feature ; and the second concerns the problem of the alleged difference between the Logia in John and in the Synoptics—which is an equally big literary feature.

The structure of the Gospel appears to preclude

the idea of the development of intellectual or moral depth in the revelation of Jesus.[1] This is not done by design, as if it were a part of the Gospel's mission to represent Him as having all knowledge from the beginning, a proper factor in a portrait of a *Logos*-Christ. The Revealer conditions the structure; He is not conditioned by it. We have, then, to allow Him to speak and not an Evangelist to speak for Him, since we have not to deal with literary artifice in the structure of this Gospel, but with a document whose structural features are inherently one with the representative acts of Jesus as Revealer. That a disciple of His could have composed either plan or acts, or the inner harmonising of both, is to require belief in a piece of wonder-working greater than all that was done on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. And as the structure of the Gospel is in service to Him, so also ought we to place, what deductions we have been inclined to make from the opening words of the Gospel or its supposed close in chapter twenty, in the same high servitude. For there is every reason against the Prologue being treated as an apologetical motto with the Gospel as its interpretation. And the colophon, which hitherto has caused commentators to interpret the text of the Gospel as if it were a proposition in theological

[1] This view is a very different one from that which makes the Johannine Christ to be the antithesis of the Synoptic Jesus; cf. *e.g.* Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1892, 432; Wernle, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, 1906, 25; Bauer, 238 f. That antithetical view puts a divine Christ over against a human Jesus, and decides that the former is according to theology. Whereas my view demands that the Revealer be recognised in John and in the Synoptics.

Euclid : ' These things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God,' was not even a part of the original text. Where the historical Jesus Christ enters into and a philosophical Christ goes out of a document, there must come that essential move of standpoint from an Evangelist's to His own. We move, from a writer who fashions for us a Christ, to a Jesus Christ who as Revealer discloses Himself, and the history of whom that writer has written.

John's history of Jesus depicts Him as Revealer in being and word. That means a double reason why He should come with a message which was ready to be manifested. No event makes His message, neither in politics nor ritual religion. The supposed parallel of the Hebrew prophets breaks down when it is truly applied to Him. They could only speak about Jahwe : He manifested God. Theirs was advice of a far-sighted order concerning Israel as she should have contact with, it might be, the Hittite or Amorite or Babylonian kingdom ; or it was a splendid endeavour to raise Israelitish worship from the levels of crude cults to those of a moral philosophy of the national deity and ritual. His speech *was* the revelation of God. Jesus would not have to learn from the chances and changes of His short life what He came to teach. For had He not come to teach and to manifest, He could only have left us the broken idyll of a Palestinian mystic. That this was His mission, John says with the whole of his understanding and Gospel. The same is said,

for instance, in Mark, whose opening is on this subject as lucid as John's, but whose Gospel does not convey that truth with the same lucidity as John's, because Mark has to see Jesus through the eyes of Peter. Matthew, too, ought to have led us to understand the Revealer in the same fashion as John, for he prefaces the account of the ministry of Jesus with the Sermon on the Mount. We have talmudised it, and so lost the key to the First Gospel and Him. Between the hellenisation of John's Gospel and the talmudisation of the Synoptics, the sense of the Revealer and His revelation was lost. Therefore both He and it were subjected to many forms of remaking. Hence it is an expected instance of this sort to find that very many have understood both in the terms of development, which was aided by what looks like the disregard of the calendar in the first three Gospels. A true regard for the calendar displays Him both knowing and manifesting a revelation as original as God must be. And He is never more truly original than when He puts Hebrew poet and prophet and teacher of Wisdom to the service of what He knows and manifests, that therewith He may speak familiar words to carry the unfamiliar message of God. To apply the terms Revealer and revelation to Jesus Christ will mean, if language is to have reality, that He must have known or there was nothing to reveal, and that He must have manifested God or there was nothing to sanction His claim as Revealer. The Gospel of John describes these things with a brilliancy and

simplicity like light.[1] And to understand both the disciple, his Gospel and his Lord we must restore what has been lost between our hellenising of John and our talmudising of Matthew. Jesus Christ as the Revealer of God, the supreme subject of this Gospel, must be found again by us.

But, it is urged, the Johannine Logia of Jesus are of so different a form from the Synoptic tradition, or from the hypothetical tradition of *Q*, that the Gospel will display a revelation which is a development of what Jesus actually said and did. The Gospel of the Kingdom is said to be lacking, and the doctrine of the Father to be ubiquitous: the parables of the Kingdom do not exist for John any more than the Galilean Ethic. These are two of the judgments which are passed against this Gospel from the formalities of Synoptic criticism. And they would be just, if statistics could overrule the conclusions wrought by the imprecise chronology of the first three Gospels. They present the ministry of Jesus in what seems to be the framework of a year. Then, by means of a certain measure of common agreement, they are allowed to say that this feature or the other in the life of Christ must have happened here or there. By one other step in the logic of this position either Mark or *Q*, which is called the earliest

[1] It is impossible to agree with the view that the Gospel is monotonous; Jackson, 70. That surely is only a corollary of the *Logos*-Christ view, or of the opinion that John has drawn a most masterful polemist against the Jews—a supreme example of the unanswerable type, such as Constantine the Great and Pope Silvester are imagined as being in the legend of their Christological controversy with the Jews (Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, *P.G.* cxxi. 521 C ff.). On the style of the translator of the Gospel, see *infra* 223 ff.

Jerusalem Gospel, is made to define what was the type of message Jesus spoke to men. This message creates its Messenger. He becomes the Jesus of Mark, or of *Q*, or of the Synoptics—which is as wrong as the resultant Jesus of John, by isolation of that Gospel from them.

John knows only the historic Revealer. That is He whom the other Gospels ought to portray. His Gospel has in it but few parables. And why? Because the plan of the Gospel excludes them. The Judaean and extra-Judaean ministry of Jesus is each presented in its essentials. Those essentials are singled out by the greater things of the Revealer and His revelation, and not by John's doctrinal or philosophical choice. The Synoptics have much in them which Jesus spoke as He went here and there during his public life, and parables were used by Him when He was among men and not when He was doing His work as Revealer at festival-times in Jerusalem.

John's chronological scheme is better than theirs. It is not later and corrective of their chronology We must not, therefore, rush unto the view that his Gospel should displace Mark in priority.[1] That would lead to little or no change in the formalisms of Gospel criticism, beyond the exchange of an epithet such as Markan for Johannine. What, how-

[1] Semler, *Paraphrasis Evangelii Johannis cum notis et Cantabrigiensis codicis Latino textu*, 1771, *Praef.* (the pages are not numbered), claimed the Gospel of John as being the oldest of the four Gospels. Windisch, 59 ff, unfruitfully argues the formal theory whether John's is the oldest, and therefore the exemplary Gospel to the Synoptics.

ever, should be done is to straighten out the seeming temporal inaccuracies of the first three Gospels by the help of the chronology which gives precision to the Gospel of John. Then a new perspective may be brought into the teaching of Jesus as it is presented in them. This is, of course, one of the lesser tasks concerning them. But it will be found to be one which must go before any fresh and detailed investigation of the content of their presentation.

The same line of reasoning has to be taken against the charge of the small place given to the Kingdom in John's Gospel. Numerically its appearances are few. And the reason why is not difficult to seek. The Kingdom was not a subject Jesus dwelt on in His Judaean ministry. It was a plastic means of conveying His teaching to ordinary folk in ordinary scenes of life. And these contacts were made between Him and such people, and between His revelation and their tiny lives, during His extra-Judaean ministry.[1] The economy of John's description of that ministry does not mean that he wants to keep Jesus from entering lowly doors and lives. He would never have included in his Gospel, the home in Bethany or ordinary men and women merely wanting physical food, had that been his desire. John, however, would subordinate all such humble contacts to that selection of events, in

[1] Even there many of the people took Him to mean that His Kingdom was for the people as against Roman rule. This John and the Slavonic *Jewish War* make clear. How overwhelming that misconception of Him might have been if Jesus had gathered the populace in Jerusalem by preaching the Kingdom! We know that this was not done by the inaction of the Romans against Him.

Christ's work outside Jerusalem, which shall present some fresh fundamental of His revelation. And if the Kingdom could be said to appear but once in this Gospel, when Jesus is on trial before Pilate, a historian would surely have to admit that this instance throws more direct light upon Jesus' use of the term than the many instances in the other Gospels. This one interprets itself: they need interpretation. With those calm eyes looking upon Jew and Roman in turn, Jesus said: 'My Kingdom is not of this world.' His was the eternal judgment of their world: they could not judge Him. It is amazing that this abrogation of the ancient worlds of religion could ever have been turned into a denial of the world in which human beings live and think. We may not now follow that point, for we should recognise here only that this instance serves to limn in the Kingdom, and its place in the revelation of Jesus, with the Johannine sparseness of line. And this is done with no calculation of perspective or effect. John was not an impressionist. It comes in a naturally told account of the trial. And the solely adequate reason for this achievement in truth is that the disciple is subject to his Lord, both here and throughout the Gospel.

Finally, the alleged difference between the Logia of Jesus in John and in the other Gospels reduces itself to a literary problem. Their form, it is said, is different. Thus we are accustomed to speak of a Johannine type and a Synoptic type of *logion*. And the distinction is carried on from a literal one

to a philosophical one: the Synoptic *logion* is authentic for Jesus, whilst the Johannine *logion* is true to an Ephesian remodelling of what Jesus said. Whatever the interior problem may be, the exterior problem is the same for Johannine and Synoptic Logia—the words are in Greek. The case against the authenticity of the Logia in John rests at last on this verbal ground. But fresh findings ask for a total reconsideration of the problem.

We have not John's Gospel in Greek, but his Aramaic translated into Greek. And that Greek is much more Johannine than his own, as a comparison between the First Epistle and the Gospel exhibits, since it uses colours and turns of the language of a Johannine tradition. It is not merely modelled on the First Epistle: it is the work of a Johannist. He has saturated his mind with the Epistle and original Gospel, and then he has produced his translation of the latter. Therefore the difference between the Greek of the Gospel and the Epistle means the contribution the Johannist has made to the literary form of the Logia of Jesus. In them, as they are preserved in the Fourth Gospel, we are dealing with John's original reporting plus the Johannist's Greek. That is a very different problem from the one usually attributed to the Gospel which is, we have to deal with John's philosophical reshaping of the Logia of Jesus. Were this latter view true, we might hope only to see and hear the original Jesus as in an opalescent mist; and any experience of Him would be as of One who had been known to a Greek mystic,

but who then was known to us, now almost near and then far off, in the billowy folds of Alexandrian mysticism. He will always be too distant from us, even when near as He can come, in such a disguise. But He can come to us directly through the Johannist's Greek rendering of His sayings.

For, first, we can learn exactly what the Johannist does and thinks in Greek. Since the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel is his composition, and the discernible editorial additions to its text are his work. The Johannist editor of the Fourth Gospel was its translator from Aramaic into Greek. Thus, second, we are able to expunge the Johannist translator's colours and turns from the Logia of Jesus. And a large accession to our knowledge of the historic Jesus Christ be achieved.

To discern the translator we must be able to recognise his notes. They are chiefly as follows :[1] 1. The relations of Father and Son are for him hypostatical (xvii. 3, 5, 11, 24)—they are not in terms of revelation as in the First Epistle. 2. The events in the life of Jesus have for him symbolical meaning (vi. 51c ff., xix. 38 ff.)—they are not so treated in the First Epistle. 3. The *Testimonia* mode in the revelation of Jesus has become for him an external instrument (xvii. 12, etc.)—whereas in the First Epistle John still views it in the internal economy of the revelation. These are Johannist and not Johannine notes. They could colour deeply a translator's work. The translator could also have left

[1] See *supra*, p. 179 ff.

his work so that it would have been impossible to discriminate him as editor.

But the editorial additions are so plainly divisible, from the original text of the Gospel, that they mark out the qualities of the translator. When, therefore, his three chief notes are carefully applied to the *corpus* of the Gospel as tests for added colour or turns of speech, acknowledgment should be made that the translator has been faithful to the Aramaic text;[1] and that he has been true to his own views or to those of a tradition of John's teaching, only in his editorial work. It is we who will have to be as careful as he has been in the handling of this Gospel, so that hypostatical and symbolical ways of thought should not intrude upon the simpler and profounder ways of thought of the Revealer. Therein the Father and the ministry of Jesus and the teaching-mode of His revelation speak and fuse in the unique message of Him who manifested God to us—and these are their conditions in the Gospel. In the editorial additions they are made to speak in other terms, and thus to show fracture between themselves and the text of the Gospel, because an earnest man desired to be more Johannine than John. What he did not read into his translation, we ought not to find there; and what he kept strictly to his editorial material, we ought to use as a discriminator between

[1] Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, ii. Pt. i., points out that the style of this Gospel is not Semitic. That is true; but the translator's Greek does give evidence of the Aramaisms he had to deal with in his original. Harris, *Prologue*, pointed out one example in the phrase *πρὸς τὸν θεόν*; Burney has many more instances.

the authentic speech of Jesus and the most early attempt to set a Christology side by side with His revelation. The original Gospel allows the Revealer to speak: its editorial additions display Him as passing from that Person into a Christology.

C. *Date of the Gospel*

There are some considerations touching the date of this Gospel which also bear upon the problem of its character. It is said to borrow from, or that its writer knew, the other Gospels. The establishment of either form of that judgment would mean that the Gospel of John is later than the Synoptics. But both forms lead to no result, either for the date or the character of the original Gospel. It is his editor who utilises other evangelical material and not John. And the editor has proved his probity as a translator because he had refrained from intruding material from the other Gospels into his translation. This we shall see by at least one remarkable illustration. But before that comes the need for further reflexion on the more remarkable document which the editor added to the original Gospel.

We have seen already that the seventeenth chapter owes its opening formula and its total inspiration to the Lukan narrative of the Ascension; and also that some of the chapter's opening words are modelled on verses in the First Epistle of John. The Johannist editor is using the Gospel of Luke. It does not seem likely that the editor used the same Ascension source as Luke. Moreover, he does not

go beyond Lukan material for his borrowings.[1] The seventeenth chapter proves this, as the following parallels show: xvii. 15–Lk. xi. 4 reading ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ with *A C D R X* Γ Δ Λ, *b c f ff*² *i l q* and with the Coptic, Syriac and Ethiopic versions—the citation is clearly from the Lord's Prayer; xvii. 18 = Lk. xxiv. 49, the Johannist editor has glossed this Lukan source; xvii. 12 = Lk. xxii. 3, the editor finds the 'father' in Luke and gives him a 'son'; xvii. 14b = Lk. xxi. 17. Further, the interpolation in chapter six: 'and the bread which I will give is my flesh,' etc., is the Johannist's symbolisation of the Lukan account of the Last Supper (xxii. 19 ff.), beginning with the words: 'and he took bread . . . and gave to them, saying, This is my body,' etc. John does not borrow. John records the Revealer.[2] The Johannist editor borrows for the simple reason that he is not a recorder, and is editing John's record.

There are two proofs that he does not tamper with the text of John, so as to bring the Gospel he was translating into line with other forms of evangelical tradition. One proof is that he does not cause John to borrow. The other proof is in the fact that he did not substitute the Lukan Transfiguration

[1] I agree with Cludius, *Uransichten des Christenthums, nebst Untersuchungen über einige Bücher des Neuen Testaments*, 1808, 61 f., that there is no trace of Matthew in this Gospel. Windisch, 42 ff., unfruitfully finds influence of the Synoptics on the text of John, because these must have been before it.

[2] A careful study of all the parallels which represent alleged borrowings on the part of John, for instance, in Loisy's commentary, will show that not one of them holds good.

incident for the simple words spoken in the Upper Room, and hearing which the disciples said: 'By this we believe that thou camest forth from God' (xvi. 30). For what we call the Transfiguration, ought rather to be looked upon as the Folk-setting of the disciples' understanding of Jesus the Revealer and of the supersession of ancient ideas and practices by His revelation. In the Upper Room when He had done speaking with His disciples, Moses and Elias had gone from them, 'Jesus was found alone.' The Johannist withholds his hand, and we have Jesus' setting, instead of the valuable Folk-setting, of how He made known to His disciples that His revelation was in being as well as in word. Thus we draw a double conclusion from these matters: another characteristic of John's Gospel is that it does not borrow from the first three Gospels; and that its date is at least before Luke, since the Johannist translator and editor of the original borrows from the third Evangelist as is shown in his additions to John's Gospel.

This indication of a pre-Synoptic date is upheld by our findings from the influence of John's Gospel on the Mandaean *Johannes-Buch*. The original strata of the latter is to be dated about 70 A.D. The only other clear note of the influence of the New Testament on this writing, beyond its utilisation of the Fourth Gospel, is again an outstanding one. For its compiler uses the *Apostolic Decree*, or the Acts of the Apostles xv. 20d and 29d, 'Whatsoever things ye would not be done to you, do ye not do

them to others;' and in its so-called Western or original form.[1] This citation brings us again within the limit of 70, since there is more to be said for placing the date of the Acts before, rather than after, 64.[2] A period for the assimilation of Johannine material and its reappearance in a Mandaean dress must be allowed. There are countries in this modern world where new religious movements and literature can be made from older religious movements and literature in a short while. This was not so in the Near Asian world of the first century. Both the Gospel of John and the Acts had to be written and distributed, and then put into another dogmatic shape by leaders of a religious body whose centre was perhaps in Syria. Time was needed then for those three processes. The contents and structure of the original text of John, which was even without post-Crucifixion material, unite with such considerations to ask that its date be put near to the time of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ. This Gospel's sense of the revelation of Christ and of Him as Revealer is too fresh that it can be dated anywhere in the first century but there.

Two simple reflexions are present to the mind as this investigation draws to a close: One of the

[1] Pallis, *Mandaean Studies*, 143, traces this citation back to Mt. vii. 12, but that omits to account for its special features. It would not have got into the *Johannes-Buch* from *Didache* i. 2. Nor would it have been borrowed from Hillel, *Shabbath*, 31b. Pallis, 115 ff., is probably correct when he concludes that even the direct influence of the Old Testament on Mandaean writings is very small. It will be of no use to trace any part of them to Rabbinical influence.

[2] Harnack, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1908, 221; *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, 1911, 63 ff.

cardinal phases of the message of John's Gospel is that the historicity of Jesus depends on the realisation of Him as the Revealer of God to men. And the secret of the spell of its beauty is that it portrays the historic Christ and not another.

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